

**The Development of Penflourishing in Manuscripts
Produced in England between 1180 and 1280**

by

Cynthia Johnston

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The Institute of English Studies

School of Advanced Study

University of London

2014

Declaration

The work presented in this thesis is my own.

Dedication

For my father

J. Richard Boylan

1928-1986

زمین پیش نشان بود دنیا بودت
پیوسته قلم بر نیک و بد فرسودت
اندر تقدیر آنچه بایست بداد
غم خوردن و کوشیدن با پیودت

The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on: nor all thy Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all thy Tears wash out a Word of it.

The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyam, translated by Edward Fitzgerald, 1859

Abstract

The development of penflourishing in manuscripts produced in the thirteenth century is a significant factor in the design and aesthetic of the central and late medieval book. The rise of commercial production, undertaken by lay professionals in urban centres, is associated with the emergence of penflourished decoration to books in a broad range of genres, sometimes as a cheaper alternative to painted embellishment, but sometimes also as an aesthetic choice by the patron.

This dissertation examines the development of penflourishing in English manuscripts from *c.* 1180-*c.* 1280. Firstly the historiography of art-historical criticism on the subject of penflourishing is examined. Both the specific components of the flourishes and consideration of their heuristic function are discussed. A consolidation of diverse vocabulary from European critics is proposed. Discussion of the development of penflourishing in English manuscripts in the twelfth century follows and it is proposed that the techniques that will be developed in thirteenth-century flourishing are already present within the design vocabulary of the decorated twelfth-century letter.

The influence of Italian flourishing technique, developed in tandem with the production of books associated with the study of law at Bologna and other northern Italian centres, is identified with regard to specific components. This process of identification makes it possible to recognize Italian technique in the context of books produced in both Paris and Oxford. The circle of Oxford's most prolific illuminator, William de Brailes, is investigated to evaluate the influence of Italian penflourishing techniques. The use of these techniques, and others, notably the use of filigree puzzle initials, is examined with regard to the type of book produced and the implied financial expenditure by the patron. Finally the use of flourishing in the work of two contemporaneous circles, those of the Sarum Master and William of Devon, are analysed and the role of penflourishing in the de Brailes corpus is compared.

It is concluded that Italian penflourishing technique had a significant impact on the development of penflourished embellishment in England in the thirteenth century, and that de Brailes' use of this type of flourishing was an early and influential part of the development of this style.

Contents

Acknowledgements.....	6
Abbreviations.....	9
List of Figures.....	10
Vocabulary.....	22
Introduction.....	34
Chapter 1: <i>Review of Literature</i>	48
Chapter 2: <i>The Development of Penflourishing from c. 1180</i>	104
Chapter 3: <i>W. de Brailes me fecit: Penflourishing in the Circle of William de Brailes</i>	166
Chapter 4: <i>The Role of Penflourished Decoration in the Works of the Sarum Master and the Circle of William of Devon</i>	261
Conclusion.....	354
Manuscripts Cited.....	367
Bibliography.....	371

Acknowledgments

This dissertation would not have been possible without a network of generous support both intellectual and financial. First and foremost, the unfailing support and interest of my supervisor, Professor Michelle P. Brown, at the Institute of English Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, made both the process and the completion of this project a reality. Professor Brown's perception of the intellectual value of this new approach to the study of penflourished embellishment, as a valuable source for both art-historical and codicological information with regard to thirteenth-century book history, made it possible for my research to progress and unfold. The generous assistance of Professor Nigel Morgan was essential with regard to the recommendation of manuscripts to examine. Both Professor Morgan and Dr. Lynda Dennison generously read drafts of both chapters and articles, and suggested revisions and further leads for investigation. Dr. Dennison's early encouragement with regard to my interest in penwork was essential to my pursuit of this study. Her suggestions with regard to the structure of the dissertation were crucial to its development. Dr. Laura Cleaver and Professor Jane Roberts were also dedicated and careful readers of early drafts. Their assistance has greatly enhanced this dissertation; all mistakes therein are my own. Professor Ralph Hanna, Dr. Dennison and Dr. James Willoughby encouraged my thinking about the stylistic importance of penwork when I began work on the subject during my MSt in Medieval Studies at Keble College, Oxford.

I have been fortunate in gaining financial support for this PhD through the Arts and Humanities Research Council. Without this assistance, the PhD would have been an impossibility. Important help with regard to travel has come from both the

Bibliographical Society and the Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature. All of these institutions allowed me extra time to complete my research, which was delayed through a family bereavement. I would like to especially thank Ed Potten of the Bibliographical Society, and David Rundle of SSMLL for their support and understanding during this time.

I also owe a great debt to the kindness of librarians in many countries for allowing me the privilege of examining manuscripts in their collections. The librarians of the Bodleian Library have been particularly helpful and accommodating over the years. The expert advice of Colin Harris, always graciously given, has been gratefully received. The ability to take photographs of manuscripts in the Bodleian's Special Collections has made a tremendous difference to my research. Indeed, I do not think that it would have been possible for me to develop the ideas in this dissertation, which are argued via visual evidence, without this new permission to take photographs for non-commercial use. The British Library has also been an essential source. I thank especially Dr. Joanna Frońska for her interest in my dissertation, and for sharing her own recently completed dissertation on Bolognese law books with me, and for allowing me to examine the de Brailes Hours, a rare privilege. Sarah Biggs has offered perceptive advice and generous assistance.

I am especially grateful to the curators of the Free Library of Philadelphia, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich and the Stockholm National Museum for granting me access to the Lewis Psalter, the Munich Psalter and the Stockholm Psalter respectively. Christopher de Hamel generously permitted me to examine his cache of cuttings from the de Brailes Tregaskis Bible, as well as a thirteenth-century Psalter from his own collection. This kindness enabled me to reimagine the Tregaskis Bible in its complete form, and to contemplate the provenance of the Oxford-made

Psalter.

My family has given me their love and support throughout this project. It is to them that I give my deepest thanks.

Langford, 2014

Abbreviations

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.....	BAV
Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève.....	Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève
Bibliothèque nationale de France.....	BNF
British Library.....	BL
British Library, Additional MS.....	BL, Add. MS
Nigel James Morgan, <i>Early Gothic Manuscripts I, 1190-1250, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles</i> , IV (London: Harvey Miller, 1982).....	NJM, EGM 1
Nigel James Morgan, <i>Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250-1285, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles</i> , IV (London: Harvey Miller, 1988).....	NJM, EGM 2

List of Figures

Vocabulary

Figure 1: Illustration of acanthoid shapes. Taken from Jan Květ, 'Kreslený filigrán v rukopisech XII-XIV století', <i>Památky archéologické</i> , 34 (1924-25), 92-113, p. 99.....	22
Figure 2: London, BL, Add. MS 62925, f. 13r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=add_ms_62925 >).....	22
Figure 3: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 126v. (author photograph).....	23
Figure 4: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, f. 90v. (author photograph).....	23
Figure 5: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 218, f. 1v. (author photograph).....	24
Figure 6: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 284, f. 3r. (author photograph).....	24
Figure 7: Perth, Scotland, Perth Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, f. 54v. (author photograph).....	25
Figure 8: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 24v. (author photograph).....	25
Figure 9: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 1. 7, f. 75r. (author photograph).....	26
Figure 10: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 110v. (author photograph).....	26
Figure 11: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 10000, f. 57v. (Copyright of the National Library of Scotland).....	27
Figure 12: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 158v. < http://liberfloridus.cines.fr >.....	27
Figure 13: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 22v. (author photograph).....	28
Figure 14: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 232r. < http://liberfloridus.cines.fr >.....	28
Figure 15: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 24v. (author photograph).....	29
Figure 16: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, ff. 14r. and 19r. (author photograph).....	29
Figure 17: Philadelphia, Free Library, MS Lewis E 29, f. 103v. (author photograph).....	30
Figure 18: London, Gray's Inn, MS 24, f. 58v. (author photograph).....	30
Figure 19: Taken from Wolfgang Augustyn, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, 'Fleuroneé', <i>Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte</i> , 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), cols. 1117-1118.....	31
Figure 20: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 1. 7, f. 182v. (author photograph).....	31
Figure 21: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 835, f. 51r. < http://daten.digitalesammlungen.de/~db/0001/bsb00012920/images/index.htm >.....	32
Figure 22: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 110v. (author photograph).....	32

Figure 23: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 111r. (author photograph).....	33
Figure 24: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Lat. 13, f. 47v. (author photograph).....	33

Introduction

Figure 1: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C. 939, f. 32r. (author photograph).....	35
Figure 2: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C. 939, f. 32r. (author photograph).....	35
Figure 3: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 126v. (author photograph).....	36
Figure 4: London, BL, Add., MS 42130, ff. 171v.-172r. < http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_42130 >.....	38

Chapter 1

Figure 1.1: Prague, The Library of the Metropolitan Chapter, Cod. P. 3, f. 133v. Taken from Jan Květ, 'Kreslený filigrán v rukopisech XII-XIV století', <i>Památky archéologické</i> , 34 (1924-25), 92-113, p. 95.....	52
Figure 1.2: Prague, The Library of the Metropolitan Chapter, Cod. A. LXI, f. 116r. Taken from Jan Květ, 'Kreslený filigrán v rukopisech XII-XIV století', <i>Památky archéologické</i> , 34 (1924-25), p. 96.....	53
Figure 1.3: Illustration of acanthoid shapes. Taken from Jan Květ, 'Kreslený filigrán v rukopisech XII-XIV století', <i>Památky archéologické</i> , 34 (1924-25), 92-113, p. 99.....	54
Figure 1.4: Illustration of 'Palmette' shapes. Taken from Wolfgang Augustyn, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, 'Fleuronné', <i>Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte</i> , 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), cols. 1117-1118.....	55
Figure 1.5: London, BL, Harley MS 1708, f. 31r. Taken from Jan Květ, 'Kreslený filigrán v rukopisech XII-XIV století', <i>Památky archéologické</i> , 34 (1924-25), 92-113, p. 104.....	56
Figure 1.6: Illustration of 'J-motif' extensions. Taken from 'Kreslený filigrán v rukopisech XII-XIV století', <i>Památky archéologické</i> , 34 (1924-25), 92-113, p. 107.....	57
Figure 1.7: Illustration of the 'Open Loop'. Taken from Sonia Scott-Fleming, <i>The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts</i> (Leiden: Brill, 1989), p. 29.....	61
Figure 1.8: Illustration of the 'Long Stalked Bulb'. Taken from Sonia Scott-Fleming, <i>The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts</i> (Leiden: Brill, 1989), p. 32.....	62
Figure 1.9: Illustration of the 'Cat's Paw'. Taken from Sonia Scott-Fleming, <i>The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts</i> (Leiden: Brill, 1989), p. 40.....	62
Figure 1.10: Illustration of the 'Nose'. Taken from Sonia Scott-Fleming, <i>The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts</i> (Leiden: Brill, 1989), p. 61.....	62

- Figure 1.11: Illustration of the 'Extended Fan'. Taken from Sonia Scott-Fleming, *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), p. 44.....62
- Figure 1.12: Illustration of the 'Pointing Finger Fan'. Taken from Sonia Scott-Fleming, *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), p. 60.....62
- Figure 1.13: Paris, BNF, Lat. 14245, f. 59r. Taken from 'Fils de la vierge: l'imitae à filigranes parisienne 1140-1314', *Revue de l'art* (1990), 58-73, p. 60.....65
- Figure 1.14: Paris, Archives Nationales K. 24, no. 6, unfoliated. Taken from 'Fils de la vierge: l'imitae à filigranes parisienne 1140-1314', *Revue de l'art* (1990), 58-73, p. 60.....66
- Figure 1.15: Paris, BNF, Lat. 11756, f. 207r. Taken from 'Fils de la vierge: l'initiale à filigranes parisienne 1140-1314', *Revue de l'art* (1990), 58-73, p. 64.....67
- Figure 1.16: Paris, BNF, Lat. 9970, f. 55v. Taken from 'Fils de la vierge: l'initiale à filigranes parisienne 1140-1314', *Revue de l'art* (1990), 58-73, p. 68.....68
- Figure 1.17: Paris, BNF, Lat. 15613, f. 139v. Taken from 'Fils de la vierge: l'initiale à filigranes parisienne 1140-1314', *Revue de l'art* (1990), 58-73, p. 69.....69
- Figure 1.18: Illustration of bud, pearl and kernel forms. Taken from Wolfgang Augustyn, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, 'Fleuroneé', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), cols. 1117-1118.....72
- Figure 1.19: Illustration of the variations of *fleuronée* rods . Taken from Wolfgang Augustyn, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, 'Fleuroneé', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), cols. 1117-1118.....73
- Figure 1.20: Illustration of vegetal forms. Taken from Wolfgang Augustyn, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, 'Fleuroneé', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), cols. 1117-1118.....73
- Figure 1.21: Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 72, f. 19v. Taken from Wolfgang Augustyn, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, 'Fleuroneé', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), col. 1121.....75
- Figure 1.22: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, cod. theol. lat. oct. 61, f. 2r. Taken from Wolfgang Augustyn, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, 'Fleuroneé', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), col. 1129...78
- Figure 1.23: London, British Library, Royal MS 3 C. v., f. 2r. (<<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/results.asp> >).....80
- Figure 1.24: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 350/567, f. 7v. (author photograph).....81
- Figure 1.25: Stockholm, Stockholm National Musuem, MS B 2010, f. 22v. (author photograph).....82
- Figure 1.26: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1415, f. 164r. Taken from Wolfgang Augustyn, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, 'Fleuroneé', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), col. 1138.....83

Figure 1.27: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. th. b. 4, f. 182r. (< http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/lat/th/b/004.htm >).	84
Figure 1.28: Illustration of 'bud fleuroneé'. Taken from Wolfgang Augustyn, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, 'Fleuroneé', <i>Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte</i> , 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), cols. 1117-1118.	85
Figure 1.29: Perth, Scotland, Perth Art Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, unfoliated (author photo).	85
Figure 1.30: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 8r. (author photo).	86

Chapter 2

Figure 2.1: Psalm 13, Hunterian Psalter, Glasgow, University of Glasgow Special Collections, MS Hunter U.3.7 (229), f. 75r. < http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/psalter/psalterindex.html >.	106
Figure 2.2: Oxford, Christ Church, MS 95, f. 1r. (Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library).	108
Figure 2.3: Perth, Scotland, Perth Art Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, unfoliated. (author photograph).	109
Figure 2.4: <i>Champ</i> initial from Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 126v (author photograph).	110
Figure 2.5: London, British Library, MS Royal 4 E. ix, f. 164v. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/results.asp >).	111
Figure 2.6: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 158v (< http://liberfloridus.cines.fr >).	115
Figure 2.7: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 158v (< http://liberfloridus.cines.fr >).	115
Figure 2.8: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 158v (< http://liberfloridus.cines.fr >).	117
Figure 2.9: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 158v (< http://liberfloridus.cines.fr >).	118
Figure 2.10: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 158v (< http://liberfloridus.cines.fr >).	118
Figure 2.11: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 158v (< http://liberfloridus.cines.fr >).	119
Figure 2.12: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 158v (< http://liberfloridus.cines.fr >).	119
Figure 2.13: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 158v (< http://liberfloridus.cines.fr >).	119
Figure 2.14: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 111r. (author photo).	120
Figure 2.15: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Bibl. Lat. 8, f. 209r. (< http://bodley30.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~1213~101185:Bible--incomplete--?qvq=w4s:/when/13th%20century,%20beginning;lc:ODLodl~29~29,ODLodl~7~7,ODLodl~6~6,ODLodl~14~14,ODLodl~8~8,ODLodl~23~23,ODLodl~1~1,ODLodl~24~24&mi=113&trs=117 >).	121

- Figure 2.16: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 113r (<http://liberfloridus.cines.fr>).....122
- Figure 2.17: Paris, BNF, MS Latin 16896, f. 67r. (Taken from *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine italienne*, ed. by F. Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1984, p. 23.....123
- Figure 2.18: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bywater adds. 2, f. 4r (<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/bywater/adds/002.htm>).....126
- Figure 2.19: Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 65, unfoliated (Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library).....127
- Figure 2.20: Paris, BNF, Latin 14243, f. 6r. (Taken from Patricia Stirnemann, 'Fils de la vierge: L'initiale à filigranes parisienne, 1140-1314, *Revue de l'art* (1990), 63.....129
- Figure 2.21: Paris, BNF, Latin 9970, f. 45r. (Taken from Patricia Stirnemann, 'Fils de la vierge: L'initiale à filigranes parisienne, 1140-1314, *Revue de l'art* (1990), 68.....130
- Figure 2.22: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, f. 52r. (<http://libwww.freelibrary.org/medievalman/ShelfMarkDetailList.cfm?srch=6&shelfmark=Lewis%20E%20185>).....132
- Figure 2.23a: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, f. 52r. (<http://libwww.freelibrary.org/medievalman/ShelfMarkDetailList.cfm?srch=6&shelfmark=Lewis%20E%20185>).....133
- Figure 2.23b: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, f. 52r. (<http://libwww.freelibrary.org/medievalman/ShelfMarkDetailList.cfm?srch=6&shelfmark=Lewis%20E%20185>).....133
- Figure 2.24: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, f. 45v. (<http://libwww.freelibrary.org/medievalman/ShelfMarkDetailList.cfm?srch=6&shelfmark=Lewis%20E%20185>).....134
- Figure 2.25: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, f. 32r (<http://libwww.freelibrary.org/medievalman/ShelfMarkDetailList.cfm?srch=6&shelfmark=Lewis%20E%20185>).....135
- Figure 2.26: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, ff. 38v.-39r. (<http://libwww.freelibrary.org/medievalman/ShelfMarkDetailList.cfm?srch=6&shelfmark=Lewis%20E%20185>).....136
- Figure 2.27: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS GKS 1606 4°, f. 25v. (<http://www.kb.dk/en/kb/nb/ha/e-mss/mdr.html>).....137
- Figure 2.28: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS GKS 1606 4°, f. 26v (<http://www.kb.dk/en/kb/nb/ha/e-mss/mdr.html>).....138
- Figure 2.29: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 50, f. 2r. (http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/all/what/MS.+Douce+50?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23).....139
- Figure 2.30: Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Lat. 22, f. 93v. (author photograph).....140
- Figure 2.31: Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Lat. 22, f. 84r. (author photograph) (<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8710&CollID=27&NStart=37517>).....141

Figure 2.32: London, BL, Add. MS 37517, f. 64v. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8761&CollID=20&NStart=60 >).	143
Figure 2.33: London, BL, Arundel MS 60, f. 15v. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8761&CollID=20&NStart=60 >).	144
Figure 2.34: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 4, f. 267r. (Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library).	146
Figure 2.35: Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Library, MS O.5.7p, f. 1r. (Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library).	146
Figure 2.36: Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Library, MS O.5.7p, f. 1r. (Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library).	147
Figure 2.37: London, BL, Royal MS 2 A.XXII, f. 9v. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_2_a_xxii >).	148
Figure 2.38: London, BL, Royal MS 2 A.XXII, f. 66r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_2_a_xxii >).	149
Figure 2.39: London, BL Harley MS 2905, f. 66v. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/results.asp >).	150
Figure 2.40: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 81, f. 68r. (< http://corsair.morganlibrary.org >).	151
Figure 2.41: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 10000, f. 57v. (copyright National Library of Scotland).	152
Figure 2.42: Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral, MS 147, f. 151v. (Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library).	153
Figure 2.43: Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral, MS 147, f. 96r. (Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library).	153
Figure 2.44: Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral MS, 147, folio number unsupplied (Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library).	154
Figure 2.45: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 835, f. 43r. (< http://daten.digitalesammlungen.de/~db/0001/bsb00012920/images/index.htm >).	155
Figure 2.46: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 835, f. 51r. (< http://daten.digitalesammlungen.de/~db/0001/bsb00012920/images/index.htm >).	156
Figure 2.47: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 835, f. 82r. (< http://daten.digitalesammlungen.de/~db/0001/bsb00012920/images/index.htm >).	157
Figure 2.48: London, BL, Arundel MS 147, f. 45v. (< http://molcat1.bl.uk/IIIImages/NOF/mid/011ARU000000157U00045V00.jpg >).	159
Figure 2.49: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 218, f. 1r. (author photograph).	161
Figure 2.50: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 218, f. 1v. (author photograph).	162
Figure 2.51: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 218, f. 3r. (author photograph).	163
Figure 2.52: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 284, f. 132r. (author photograph).	164

Chapter 3

Figure 3.1: London: BL, Add MS 49999, f. 43r. < http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_49999 >.....	169
Figure 3.2: London, Gray's Inn, MS 24, f. 305v. (author photograph).....	173
Figure 3.3: Oxford, New College, MS 322, f. 97r. < http://www.bridgemanimages.com/en-GB/search?filter_text=New+College+MS+322&filter_group=all >.....	181
Figure 3.4: Rome, BAV, MS Borghesiana 58, f. 115r. Taken from Michael Camille, 'An Oxford University Textbook Illuminated by William de Brailes', <i>The Burlington Magazine</i> , 37, 1106 (1995), 292-99.....	182
Figure 3.5: London, BL, Harley MS 2813, f. 423r. Taken from Peter Kidd, 'A Franciscan Bible Illuminated in the Style of William de Brailes', <i>eBritish Library Journal</i> , 2007, Article 8, 1-20 (< http://www.bl.uk/ebli/2007articles/article8.html >).....	184
Figure 3.6: London, BL, MS Harley 2813, f. 442v. Taken from Peter Kidd, 'A Franciscan Bible Illuminated in the Style of William de Brailes', <i>eBritish Library Journal</i> , 2007, Article 8, 1-20 (< http://www.bl.uk/ebli/2007articles/article8.html >).....	185
Figure 3.7: London, BL, MS Harley 2813, f. 442v. Taken from Peter Kidd, 'A Franciscan Bible Illuminated in the Style of William de Brailes', <i>eBritish Library Journal</i> , 2007, Article 8, 1-20 (< http://www.bl.uk/ebli/2007articles/article8.html >).....	186
Figure 3.8: London, BL, MS Add. 49999, f. 1r. Taken from Peter Kidd, 'A Franciscan Bible Illuminated in the Style of William de Brailes', <i>eBritish Library Journal</i> , 2007, Article 8, 1-20 (< http://www.bl.uk/ebli/2007articles/article8.html >).....	186
Figure 3.9: London, BL, MS Harley 2813, f. 228r. Taken from Peter Kidd, 'A Franciscan Bible Illuminated in the Style of William de Brailes', <i>eBritish Library Journal</i> , 2007, Article 8, 1-20 (< http://www.bl.uk/ebli/2007articles/article8.html >).....	187
Figure 3.10: London, BL, Harley MS 2813, f. 250r. Taken from Peter Kidd, 'A Franciscan Bible Illuminated in the Style of William de Brailes', <i>eBritish Library Journal</i> , 2007, Article 8, 1-20 (< http://www.bl.uk/ebli/2007articles/article8.html >).....	194
Figure 3.11: London, Gray's Inn, 24, f. 172v. (author photograph).....	198
Figure 3.12: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Lat. 13, f. 155v. (author photograph).....	199
Figure 3.13: Perth, Scotland, Perth Art Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, unfoliated (author photograph).....	200
Figure 3.14: London, Gray's Inn, MS 24, f. 402r. (author photograph).....	201
Figure 3.15: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, f. 57v. (author photograph).....	201
Figure 3.16: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, f. 90v. (author photograph).....	202
Figure 3.17: York, York Cathedral, MS XVI. N. 6, f. 1r. (copyright York Cathedral Library).....	203
Figure 3.18: York, York Cathedral, MS XVI. N. 6, f. 3r. (copyright York Cathedral Library).....	204
Figure 3.19: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 33r. (author photograph).....	205

Figure 3.20: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, f. 1r. (author photograph).....	210
Figure 3.21: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, f. 1r. (author photograph).....	211
Figure 3.22: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, f. 3r. (author photograph).....	212
Figure 3.23: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, f. 126v. (author photograph).....	213
Figure 3.24: Oxford, New College, MS 322, f. 28r. (< http://www.bridgemanimages.com/en-GB/search?filter_text=New+College+MS+322&filter_group=all >).	215
Figure 3.25: Oxford, New College, MS 322, f. 41v. (< http://www.bridgemanimages.com/en-GB/search?filter_text=New+College+MS+322&filter_group=all >).	216
Figure 3.26: Oxford, New College, MS 322, f. 82v. (< http://www.bridgemanimages.com/en-GB/search?filter_text=New+College+MS+322&filter_group=all >).	217
Figure 3.27: Oxford, New College, MS 322, f. 54r. (< http://www.bridgemanimages.com/en-GB/search?filter_text=New+College+MS+322&filter_group=all >).	218
Figure 3.28: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 43, f. 156r. (< http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?Search_Arg=huntingfield+psalter&Search_Code=GKEY%5E&PID=tGIsP4X3111_c4XWhpsrUan0cHHUn&SEQ=20140629113338&CNT=50&HIST=1 >).	219
Figure 3.29: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 126v. (author photograph).....	221
Figure 3.30: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 28v. (author photograph).....	222
Figure 3.31: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 32r. (author photograph).....	223
Figure 3.32: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 23r. (author photograph).....	224
Figure 3.33: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 112r. (author photograph).....	224
Figure 3.34: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 39v. (author photograph).....	225
Figure 3.35: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 28v. (author photograph).....	226
Figure 3.36: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 9r. (author photograph).....	226
Figure 3.37: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 13v. (author photograph).....	227
Figure 3.38: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 22v. (author photograph).....	227
Figure 3.39: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 111r. (author photograph).....	228
Figure 3.40: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 126v. (author photograph).....	230
Figure 3.41: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 126v. (author photograph).....	230
Figure 3.42: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 3r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_49999 >).	232

Figure 3.43: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 28r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_49999 >)	232
Figure 3.44: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 66r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_49999 >)	233
Figure 3.45: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 1r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_49999 >)	234
Figure 3.46: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 9v. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_49999 >)	235
Figure 3.47: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 61r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_49999 >)	236
Figure 3.48: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. bibl. e. 7, f. 1 (author photograph)	237
Figure 3.49: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. bibl. e. 7, f. 98r. (Copyright Bodleian Library, University of Oxford 2013)	238
Figure 3.50: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 350/567, f. 3r. (author photograph)	239
Figure 3.51: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. bibl. e. 7, f. 117v. (Copyright Bodleian Library, University of Oxford 2013)	240
Figure 3.52: London, Gray's Inn, MS 24, f. 58v. (author photograph)	240
Figure 3.53: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 29, f. 88v. (author photograph)	242
Figure 3.54: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 29, f. 85r. (author photograph)	243
Figure 3.55: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 29, f. 80r. (author photograph)	243
Figure 3.56: Perth, Scotland, Perth Art Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, unfoliated (author photograph)	245
Figure 3.57: Perth, Scotland, Perth Art Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, unfoliated (author photograph)	246
Figure 3.58: Perth, Scotland, Perth Art Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, unfoliated (author photograph)	247
Figure 3.59: Perth, Scotland, Perth Art Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, unfoliated (author photograph)	248
Figure 3.60: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Lat. 13, f. 1r. (author photograph)	249
Figure 3.61: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Lat. 13, f. 16r. (author photograph)	250
Figure 3.62: London, BL, Add. MS 62925, f. 11v. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=add_ms_62925 >)	252
Figure 3.63: London, BL, Add. MS 62925, f. 13r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=add_ms_62925 >)	253
Figure 3.64: London, BL, Add. MS 62925, f. 14r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=add_ms_62925 >)	254
Figure 3.65: London, BL, Add. MS 50000, f. 18r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_50000 >)	255
Figure 3.66: London, BL, Add. MS 50000, f. 48r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_50000 >)	256
Figure 3.67: London, BL, Add. MS 50000, f. 49r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_50000 >)	257

Figure 3.68: London, BL, Add. MS 50000, f. 66v. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_50000 >)	258
---	-----

Chapter 4

Figure 4.1: London, BL, Royal MS 1 B. xii, f. 435r. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=39682 >)	262
Figure 4.2: London, BL, Royal MS 1 D. i, f. 540v. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=43127 >)	263
Figure 4.3: London, BL, Royal MS 1 D. i, f. 1r. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=43128 >)	265
Figure 4.4: London, BL, Royal MS 14 C. vii, f. 6r. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=43395 >)	266
Figure 4.5: London, Lambeth Palace, MS 434, f. 1r. (Copyright Lambeth Palace Library)	273
Figure 4.6: London, Lambeth Palace MS 209, ff. 7r.-8v. (Taken from <i>The Lambeth Apocalypse (ca. 1260-75)</i> [facsimile], (London: Harvey Miller, 1990))	275
Figure 4.7: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 184, f. 10r. (< http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/tanner/tanner.html >)	276
Figure 4.8: London, BL, Add. MS 42555, f. 18r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_42555 >)	277
Figure 4.9: Paris, BNF Lat 16894, f. 1r. Taken from <i>Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne</i> , ed. by F. Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1984), p. 74, no. 88, plate 43)	278
Figure 4.10: London, BL, Add. MS 42555, f. 38r. (< http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_42555 >)	281
Figure 4.11: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 764, f. 10r. Taken from <i>Liber Bestiarum: MS Bodley 764</i> , with commentary by Christopher de Hamel and Richard Barber (London: Folio Society, 2008) (author photograph)	280
Figure 4.12: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 764, ff. 13v.-14r. Taken from <i>Liber Bestiarum: MS Bodley 764</i> , with commentary by Christopher de Hamel and Richard Barber (London: Folio Society, 2008) (author photograph)	282
Figure 4.13: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 72r. (author photograph)	283
Figure 4.14: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 24v. (author photograph)	284
Figure 4.15: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 43, f. 38v. (< http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=47&ti=1,47&Search%5FArg=%22ms%20m%2E43%22%20ica&Search%5FCode=GKEY%5E&CNT=50&PID=wDOn3FCTsIKA-DwBchr3qMoIGBodv&SEQ=20140703085604&SID=1 >)	285
Figure 4.16: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 409r. (author photograph)	286
Figure 4.17: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 8r. (author photograph)	287

Figure 4.18: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 14v. (author photograph).....	288
Figure 4.19: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 7r. (author photograph).....	289
Figure 4.20: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 8r. (author photograph).....	290
Figure 4.21: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 158r. (author photograph).....	291
Figure 4.22: Oxford, Codrington Library, All Souls College, MS 6, f. 5r. (Image supplied by Codrington Library, All Souls College, Oxford. Copyright Codrington Library).....	293
Figure 4.23: Oxford, Codrington Library, All Souls College, MS 6, f. 23v. (Image supplied by Codrington Library, All Souls College, Oxford. Copyright Codrington Library).....	294
Figure 4.24: Oxford, Codrington Library, All Souls College, MS 6, f. 1r. (Image supplied by Codrington Library, All Souls College, Oxford. Copyright Codrington Library).....	296
Figure 4.25: London, BL, Royal MS 1 B. xii, f. 34r. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=39679 >).....	297
Figure 4.26: London, BL, Royal MS 1 B. xii, f. 193v. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=39678 >).....	298
Figure 4.27: London, BL, MS Royal 1 B. xii, f. 84v. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=39677 >).....	299
Figure 4.28: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. D. 1. 7, f. 159r. (author photograph).....	302
Figure 4.29: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 1. 7, f. 1r. (author photograph).....	307
Figure 4.30: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 1. 7, f. 170v. (author photograph).....	308
Figure 4.31: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 1. 7, f. 146v. (author photograph).....	309
Figure 4.32: London, BL, Royal MS 1 D. i, f. 1r. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=43128 >).....	312
Figure 4.33: London, BL, Royal MS 1 D. i, f. 232r. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=43156 >).....	313
Figure 4.34: London, BL, Royal MS 1 D. i, f. 232r. British Library, Royal MS 1 D. i, f. 232r. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=43156 >).....	314
Figure 4.35: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 1, f. 1r. (author photograph).....	315
Figure 4.36: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 1, f. 1r., detail. (author photograph).....	316
Figure 4.37: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 1, f. 431v. (author photograph).....	317
Figure 4.38: London, BL, Royal MS 1 E. ii, f. 3v. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=29844 >).....	319
Figure 4.39: London, BL, Royal MS 1 E. ii, f. 20v. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=30197 >).....	320
Figure 4.40: London, BL, Royal MS 1 E. ii, f. 364r. (< http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=30317 >).....	321

- Figure 4.41: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 756, f. 11r. (<<http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=21&ti=1,21&Search%5FArg=%22ms%20m%2E756%22%20ica&Search%5FCode=GKEY%5E&CNT=50&PID=J9sIgKctJL2WhisOcfXDo1CEhbboC&SEQ=20140703093645&SID=1>>).....323
- Figure 4.42: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 756, f. 11v. (<<http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=22&ti=1,22&SEQ=20140703093329&Search%5FArg=%22ms%20m%2E756%22%20ica&Search%5FCode=GKEY%5E&CNT=50&PID=zQYFbShHWGGNddib19nOcqsIrR2Xs&SID=1>>).....324
- Figure 4.43: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M, f. 60r. (<<http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=59&ti=51,59&Search%5FArg=%22ms%20m%2E756%22%20ica&Search%5FCode=GKEY%5E&CNT=50&PID=OxrldXga5AAjeDtPl6ViKEA1eyyKA&SEQ=20140703093447&SID=1>>).....325
- Figure 4.44: Blackburn, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS 091.21001, f. 6v. (author photograph).....326
- Figure 4.45: Blackburn, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS 091.21001, ff. 45v.-46r. (author photograph).....327
- Figure 4.46: London, BL, Egerton MS 1151, f. 92r. (<<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=7759>>).....329
- Figure 4.47: London, BL, Egerton MS 1151, f. 47r. (<<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=7761>>).....330
- Figure 4.48: London, BL, Harley MS 928, f. 10r. (<<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=31173>>).....333
- Figure 4.49: London, BL, Add. MS 24686, f. 11r. (<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_24686>).....335
- Figure 4.50: London, BL, Royal MS 3 E. viii, f. 329r. (<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=39776>).....338
- Figure 4.51: London, BL, Royal MS 3 E. i, f. 3r. (<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=47938>).....340
- Figure 4.52: London, BL, Royal MS 3 E. v, ff. 90v.-91r. (<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=39462>).....343

Vocabulary

* indicates a term coined by Sonia Scott-Fleming.

^ indicates a term coined by the author.

Terms that are highlighted in the definitions appear also in the vocabulary list.

Acanthoid: A shape used in **fleuronné** penwork derived from the representation of the acanthus leaf. Jan Květ (1924) suggested this term to describe penwork variations on the acanthus form. Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald (2003) refer to these forms as ‘*Palmette*’ or ‘*Halbpalmette*’.



Figure 1: Jan Květ, ‘Kreslený filigrán v rukopisech XII-XIV století’, *Památky archéologické*, 34 (1924-25), 92-113, p. 99

Baseline: The centre line of a ***jeux de plume*** structure from which the rest of the design extends. An **^embroidered baseline** is decorated with small geometric shapes such as rectangles or chevrons. Margriet Hülsmann (1988) analysed fifteenth-century flourishing in Dutch manuscripts by identifying their components. She proposed the word *basislijnen* to describe the central line of the flourish. I have applied it here in English to the central line of a ***jeux de plume*** structure.

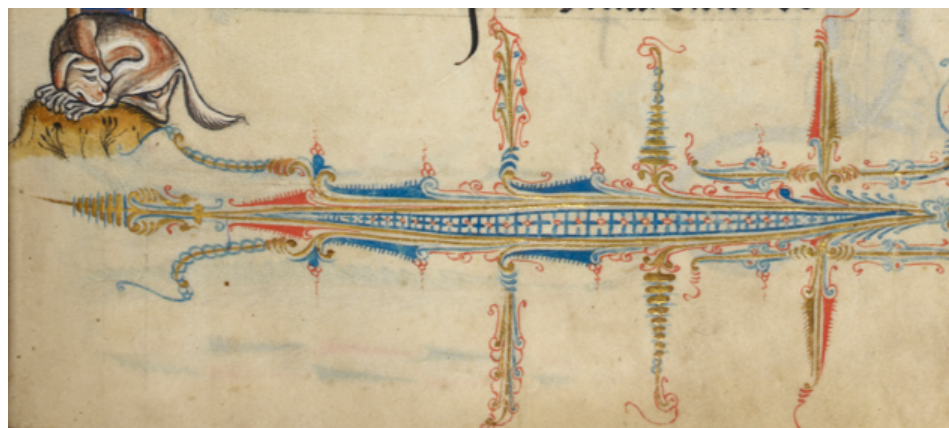


Figure 2: London, BL, Add. MS 62925, f. 13r. (The Rutland Psalter, England, c. 1280)

Champ initial: Initials in gold on a field of usually red or blue paint. The infill of the initial is often articulated with white lines.



Figure 3: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 126v. (Oxford?, c. 1250)

Dragon extension: A figure of a dragon that emerges from the frame of a decorated or historiated initial. The dragon or other grotesque is most often drawn in the *bas de page*, and it emits further decorative shapes from its mouth. The grotesques that appear as dragon extensions do not usually spout further embellishment in ink. Dragon extensions are closely linked to the historiated or decorated initial by virtue of their shared pigment medium, not to fleuronée penwork. It is likely that the hand that applied the historiated or decorated letter also supplied the dragon extension.

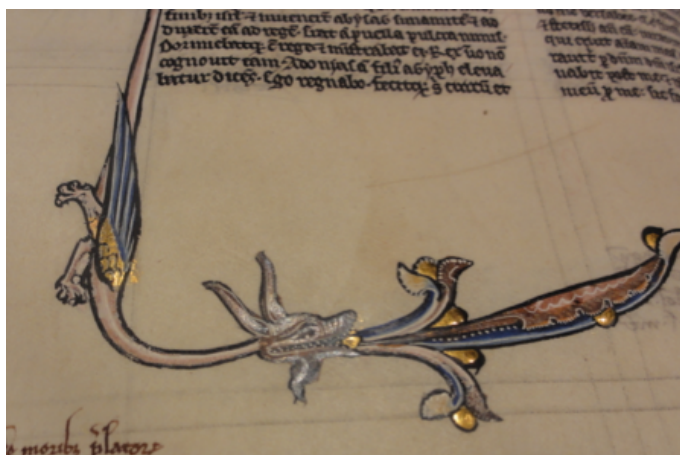


Figure 4: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, f. 90v. (Oxford, c. 1250)

***Extended fan:** a penwork shape used in *fleuronnée* embellishment to the letter. Sonia Scott-Fleming (1989) finds that the extended fan occurs throughout the thirteenth century, and is used in both English and French manuscripts. In the example below, the extended fan appears as a punctuation point when the red and blue lines change direction in the context of an Italian-influenced *bas de page* structure.

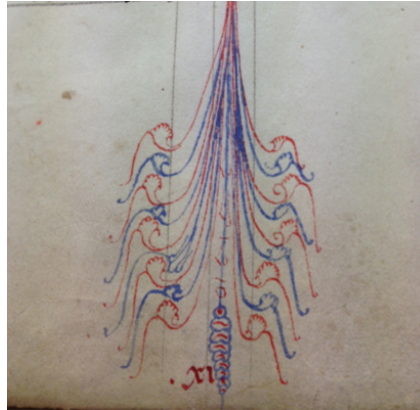


Figure 5: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 218, f. 1v. (Gratian, *Decretum*, c. 1210-20)

Filigree initial: A large or small letter decorated in pen by fine lines applied in usually red or blue ink. A filigree letter will serve as the centre point from which additional embellishment in pen, *fleuronnée* penwork, will extend. Also described as 'filigranée', 'filigrane' or 'watermarked' initials.



Figure 6: Oxford: Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 284, f. 3r. (Psalter with the Gloss of Alexander of Neckham c. 1210-20)

Filigree puzzle initial: A filigree initial executed in two colours of ink, usually red and blue. The letter is divided into two sections by a jagged, symmetrically shaped or smooth-edged division demarcated by a space of blank parchment.



Figure 7: Perth, Scotland, Perth Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, f. 54v. (Bible with illumination by William de Brailes, c. 1250)

Fleuronnée: Linear decoration in most often red and blue pen applied to both large and small manuscript initials. It can extend both above and below the space of the letter, as well as extending into the interlinear space of the text block. Filigree and filigree puzzle initials are often the central focus of fleuronnée decoration. Fleuronnée can also surround other types of initial decoration such as the champ initial. Fleuronnée can also be used to embellish **Lombards**, small initials in red or blue used within the text.



Figure 8: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 24v. (The Wilton Psalter, Salisbury? c. 1245-55)

Grotesque: A figurative drawing most often found in the margins but also in the context of the decorated letter that represents either a composite form, often half human and half animal, or a fantastical creature from popular mythology or imagination. In this dissertation the term grotesque is used to refer to both marginal grotesques as well as the forms that initiate the *prolongations à l'italienne* most often found in the *bas de page*. This includes what are sometimes referred to as ‘lion heads’, which are often found in Romanesque decorative work.



Figure 9: An interaction of two types of grotesques, a faun from classical mythology and a composite grotesque with an animal's body and a hooded human head. The naturalistic bird to the left of the scene demonstrates the penchant of the William of Devon painter for tableaux in which grotesques and naturalistic animals and birds interact. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.1.7, f. 75r.)

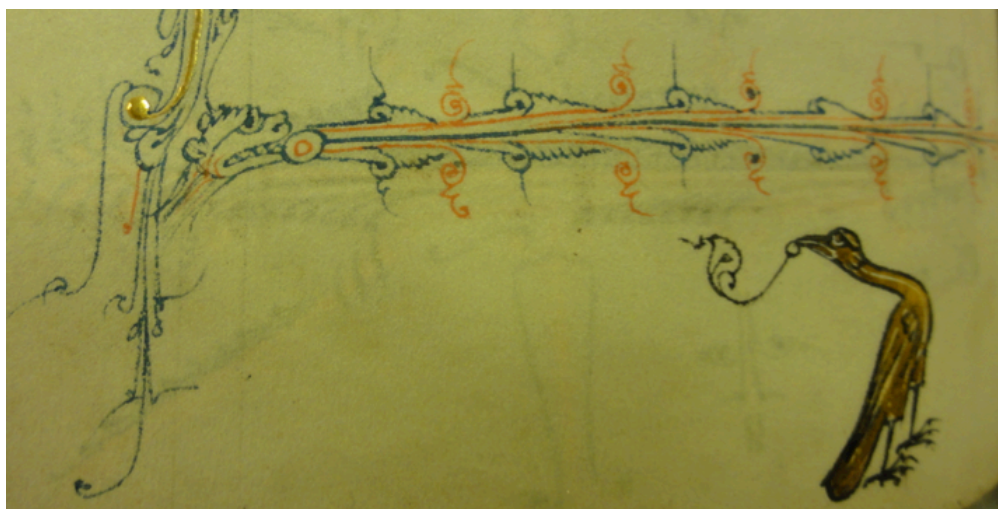


Figure 10: A ‘lion head’, classified as a grotesque initiating a *prolongation à l'italienne*. (Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 110v.)(The Stockholm Psalter, Oxford, c. 1250)

***Hairpin:** A shape that appears when a penwork line turns sharply back upon itself.



Figure 11: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 10000, f. 57v. (Copyright of the National Library of Scotland) (Oxford? c. 1180-1225)

Heads of barley: Decorative termini suggestive of a head of barley or wheat. Heads of barley first appear in *jeux de plume*, and also appear in *prolongations à l'italienne*. Definition suggested by Robert Gibbs (2002).

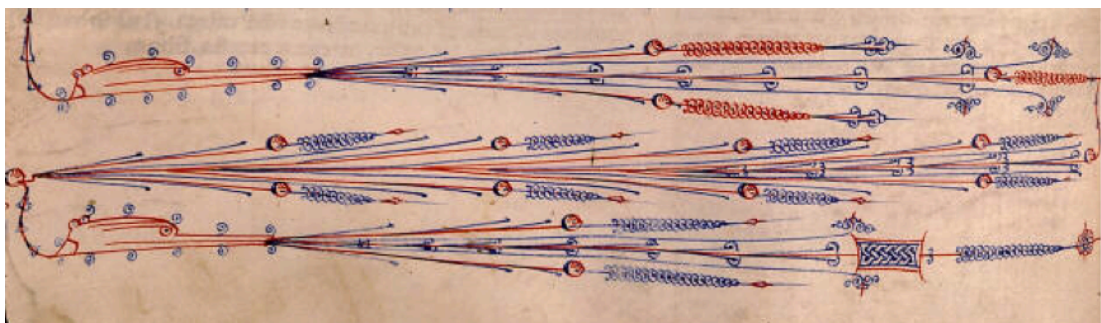


Figure 12: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 158v. (Gratian's *Decretum* with Commentary of Bartholomaeus Brixiensis, northern Italy, c. 1190-1210)

^**Implied scroll:** A penwork device that connects fleuronée work to another component of the *mise-en-page* of the folio. The structure looks like a scroll, but only suggests three dimensionality with the use of unconnected curled lines arranged in diminishing size.



Figure 13: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 22v. (The Stockholm Psalter, Oxford, c. 1250)

Jeux de plume: An elaborate penwork structure found in the *bas de page* of manuscripts from the end of the twelfth century. It originated most probably in Bologna, and is first found in textbooks for the study of law. It has a formal structure including a central ‘*baseline*’ that is often decorated with small geometric shapes and feathered pen extensions which use various termini, including *roundheads*, *heads of barley* and floriate motifs. Definition suggested by Marie-Thérèse Gousset (1984).

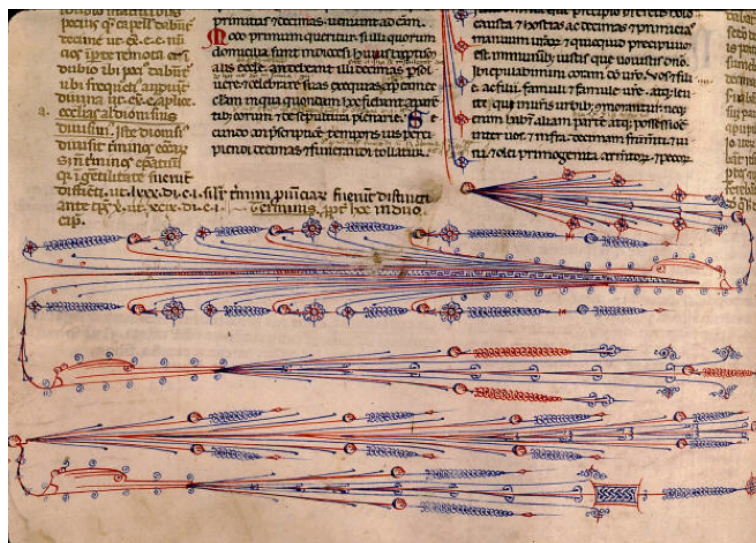


Figure 14: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 232r, (Gratian's *Decretum* with Commentary of Bartholomaeus Brixiensis, c. 1190-1210, northern Italy)

Line fillers/Line-endings: A decorative device used to fill in the blank space left at the end of lines of script. Referred to as both line fillers and line-endings, these devices can consist of penflourished filigree work, simple single lines drawn across the space, or figurative work in either grotesque or naturalistic forms. Mirror or doubled figures are a popular motif in line fillers in thirteenth-century Psalters.

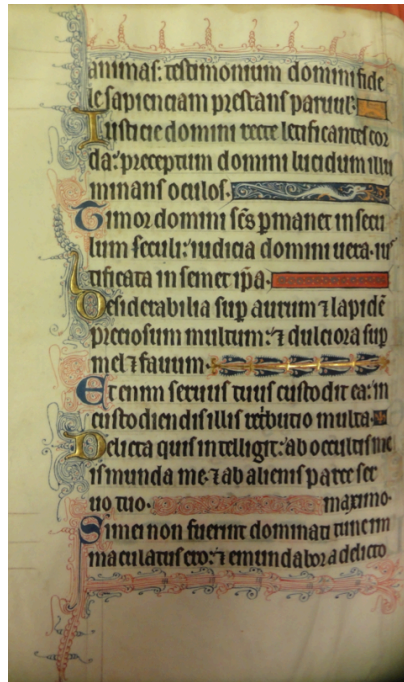


Figure 15: Folio from the Wilton Psalter demonstrating three distinct types of line fillers: figurative, abstract pigment design and penflourished decoration. London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 24v.



Figure 16: Two examples of mirror images from the Wilton Psalter, London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, ff. 14r. (top) and 19r. (bottom)

Lombard capital: lower register capitals used within the text. Lombards have a compressed, horizontal aspect. They are often accompanied by a guide letter, and are usually undecorated.



Figure 17: Philadelphia, Free Library, MS Lewis E 29, f. 103v. The Lombard capitals appear in the text alternately in red and blue ink. (Small-size Bible with illumination by William de Brailes, Oxford c. 1250)

^**Narrative drop:** Additional illustrative material added to the stem of an initial in the *bas de page* to continue the narrative initiated in a historiated initial. A device used frequently by de Brailes in small-format Bibles, as well as the Book of Hours. The example below shows the suicide of Saul in the historiated initial and the following suicide of his armour-bearer in the *bas de page*.



Figure 18: London, Gray's Inn, MS 24, f. 58v. Small-size Bible with illumination by William de Brailes, Oxford c. 1250

Palmette: A shape used in **fleuronné** penwork that derives from representations of the acanthus leaf. This shape was first recognized and defined as ‘**acanthoid**’ by Jan Květ in 1924. This term has not been adopted by art historians, and the preferred contemporary term is **palmette**. Květ uses the term **palmette** to describe another three-lobed shape, but this terminology is not used outside of the context of Květ’s work.

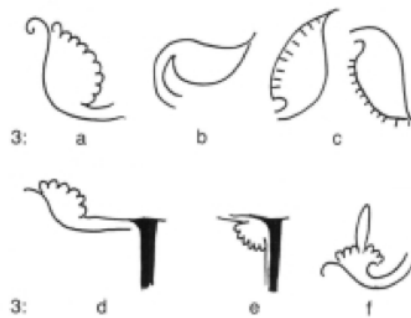


Figure 19: Palmette shapes as defined by Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald (2003), cols. 1117-1118



Figure 20: Palmette shapes in context within the bowl of the filigree puzzle initial and as termini to the fleuronée in the intercolumnal space. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 1. 7, f. 182v. (Oxford? c. 1270)

***Pointing finger fan:** A development from the *extended fan*. This penwork feature has a spike-like finger extending from the main body of the shape. Scott-Fleming identifies this as an ‘early’ component that is useful in identifying both English and French manuscripts produced before the middle of the thirteenth century.

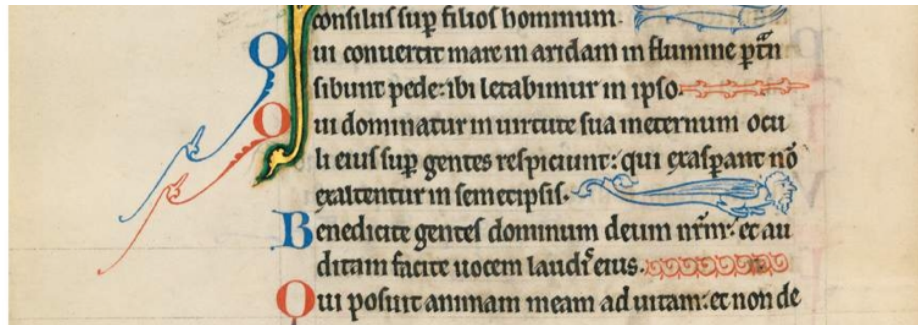


Figure 21: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 835, f. 51r. (Oxford? c. 1200-25)

Prolongation à l'italienne: A long linear embellishment usually to the *bas de page* of the folio. The prolongation has three major components, a grotesque or naturalistic head or figure, a *baseline*, and additional penwork lines symmetrically arranged on either side of the baseline. The penwork lines emerge from the drawn head or figure and move across the folio. In Italian examples, these lines often have decorative termini. *Prolongations* began as part of *jeux de plume*, and separate into a distinct decorative type in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Definition suggested by Marie-Thérèse Gousset (1984).



Figure 22: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS 2010, f. 110v. (The Stockholm Psalter, c. 1250)

^**Roundheads:** Small heads, often with protruding tongues used most often as termini in both *jeux de plume* structures and *prolongations à l'italienne*.



Figure 23: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 111r. (The Stockholm Psalter, c. 1250)

^**Stacked flourishing:** When *fleuronné* is applied densely in circles above and usually below the letter. Stacking escalates as the form develops in the first half of the thirteenth century.

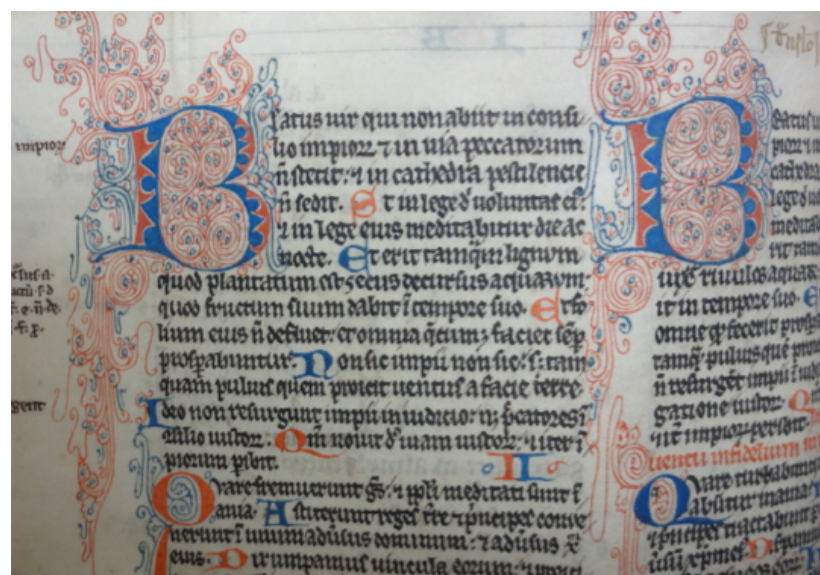


Figure 24: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Lat. 13, f. 47v.

Introduction

The development of penflourishing in late medieval manuscripts is one of the most contradictory subjects in art-historical criticism. In Jane Austen-ish fashion, it is a truth universally acknowledged that penflourishing is a ubiquitous element to *mise-en-page* in late medieval books, yet analysis of both its form and function by art historians has been scant. Reasons for this reluctance with regard to the analysis of penflourishing can be explained in two ways. Firstly, penflourishing suffered the same historic dismissal as marginal art by late Victorian and early twentieth-century art historians. The unsettling realm of the margin and its sometimes subversive meta-texts were left unexamined by critics who were in unilateral agreement with regard to the irrelevance of marginal material. Secondly, the abstract nature of penflourished decoration makes it difficult to describe in a precise and universally understood way. The advances of digital photography, in conjunction with the permission granted by many libraries for readers to take digital photographs of manuscripts for their own use, enables the study of complex penflourished forms to proceed via visual as opposed to primarily textual argument. This methodology will be used to explicate the tenets proposed by this dissertation.

There are two broad classifications of penwork applied to manuscripts that will be discussed in this dissertation. The first is *fleuronnée*: linear decoration that surrounds both large and small initials in late medieval texts (Figures 1 and 2). *Fleuronnée* is most often applied in red and blue ink, and it can also extend into the inter-textual area of the text block.

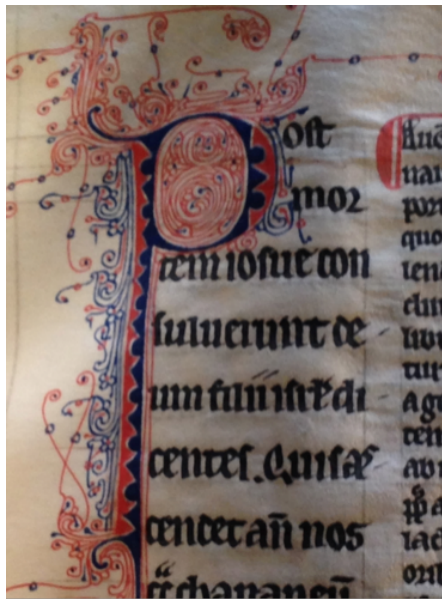


Figure 1: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C. 939, f. 32r. *Fleuronné* embellishment to large capital 'P'



Figure 2: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C. 939, f. 32r. *Fleuronné* embellishment to Lombard initial 'C'

The second type of penwork that will be discussed is the marginal penwork extension, considered by some to be a subsidiary component of *fleuronné* work. Beginning in the late twelfth century, these elaborate penflourished designs appeared

largely in the *bas de page* of manuscripts, especially in those associated with the study of the law produced in northern Italian academic centres, particularly Bologna. I will suggest that these penwork structures descend from a particular type of Italian penwork called *jeux de plume*, distinguishing it from *fleuronnée* work. This type of flourish will be discussed in detail in the chapters to come. I will also argue that the second type of flourishing, essential to the development of flourishing in thirteenth-century English manuscripts, is a derivation of *jeux de plume* that has been defined as the *prolongation à l'italienne*. The *prolongation à l'italienne* is a long line of flourished components in largely red and blue ink that appears most often in the *bas de page* of the folio, often initiated by a grotesque form or a naturalistic drawing. The *prolongation à l'italienne* is drawn almost always in a straight line across the wide margin of the folio, most often the *bas de page*. Above and below the central line of the *prolongation* are symmetrical penflourished segments. These segments mirror each other above and below the central line of the *prolongation*. They have been variously described as wedge forms, saw blades, circle segments, and, as in the example below, fishbone forms (Figure 3).¹



Figure 3: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 126v.

¹. See Wolfgang Augustyn, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, 'Fleuronné', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), col. 1119.

The progression of the *prolongation à l'italienne* has far reaching consequences for the development of *mise-en-page* in English manuscripts of the thirteenth century. The placement of the *prolongation à l'italienne* predominantly in the *bas de page* was soon expanded into other positions on the folio. The firmly linear quality of the *prolongation à l'italienne* was sustained when these devices were placed in the margins at the top and sides of the folio as well as in inter-columnar positions. Their positions on the folio suggested the illusion of a frame for the text block, which was to prove an influential visual idea in the context of late medieval book decoration. The penwork or painted frame for the text provided not only a new way of presenting the folio, with the text at once enhanced in status by its framed appearance, but also challenged by the competing visual attraction of the illuminated margin. The margin was at times also the source for conflicting narratives arcane to the meaning of the framed text itself. The solidity of the device of the marginal frame also suggested a surface robust enough to sustain a world of marginal grotesques. This development, which stemmed from the *prolongation à l'italienne*, was to be a major component of fourteenth-century book illumination.²

The marginal location of the *prolongation à l'italienne* helps to explain the lacuna of Victorian comment on the form. In 1898, Sir E. Maunde Thompson, the Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, could confidently state that:

The ornamentation of a book must have been regarded as a work having no connection whatever with the character of the book itself. Its details amused or aroused the viewer who in his amusement or admiration took no thought whether the text was sacred or profane.³

² See Nigel Morgan, 'The Decorative Ornament of the Text and Page in Thirteenth-century England: Initials, Border Extensions and Line Fillers', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 10 (2002), 1-33 and Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge* (London: Reaktion, 1992), pp.11-26. Morgan suggests that the margin formed a physical base for the placement of grotesques and drolleries, while Camille finds that the margin is also a conceptual stage for debate and dissent.

³ Sir E. Maunde Thompson, *The Grotesque and the Humorous in the Illuminations of the Middle Ages*

The conflict implicit in studying a sacred text which is adjacent to secular, jocund, or obscene images is resolved by placing the decorative aspects of a book into a parenthetic category of benign diversion. Thompson's comments on decoration are contemporaneously conventional. In 1931, in his introduction to his work on Walter de Milemete, M.R. James wrote that as to marginal illustrations, '...it is no part of my plan to notice them.'⁴ Margaret Rickert's 1957 description of the marginal art of the Luttrell Psalter, as 'hideous and vulgar...too often even a reasonably good initial and border...is spoiled by a repulsive grotesque' is a response that was very much of its time (Figure 4).⁵



Figure 4: London, BL, Add, MS 42130, ff. 171v-172r.

(London: Bibliographica, 1896), p. 309.

⁴ M. R. James, *The Treatise of Walter de Milemete* (Oxford: Oxford University Press and the Roxburghe Club, 1913), p. xxiv.

⁵ Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Baltimore: Pelican History of Art, 1965), pp. 148-9.

While marginal figurative art could attract at least notice, if not interest, decorative components of manuscript illumination most often go unmentioned by art historians until the 1960s.⁶ Scholarly attention to secondary decoration, that is decoration found beyond the confines of major illumination, begins with L.M.J. Delaissé's defence of the importance of minor decoration.

In 1968, Delaissé proposed a new 'archaeological' method for the study of medieval manuscripts. He completely rejected the previous generation's evaluation of decorative elements. Delaissé argued passionately for the importance of all details carried by the book itself:

The archaeological method demands...that all material techniques...be examined in each book, but particularly the secondary techniques such as decoration, which, because of their consistency and their complexity, show better than the script and the miniatures, the continuity and evolution in the execution of manuscripts produced by a particular group of craftsmen. The painters of the secondary decorations, less gifted than the miniaturists, did not change jobs as often, nor was it usual for them to journey from place to place as did their superior colleagues: being more stable their collaboration was more regular. Moreover, the decorations are more varied and visually more different than, for instance, the scripts. The less important decorations, which can be found in many manuscripts...are...precisely the elements of the book which, with the help of other secondary techniques...are most useful in individualising a manuscript...By analysing and grouping...the work of the human hand as it appears in book techniques, the production of manuscripts in the Middle Ages will come back to life; in other words the archaeological method will give us the possibility of writing the history of the medieval book.⁷

The archaeological method revolutionised the approach of scholarship to the

⁶ Exceptions are Jan Květ's article, 'Kreslený filigrán v rukopisech XII-XIV století', *Památky archéologické*, 34 (1924-25), 92-113, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 1. Lilian Randall's 1957 article on *exempla* as a source for marginal illustration is one of the first scholarly examinations of marginalia. See Lilian Randall, 'Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination', *Art Bulletin*, 39. 2 (June, 1957), 97-107.

⁷ L.M.J. Delaissé, 'Towards a History of the Medieval Book', *Miscellanea André Combes*, ed. by Antonio Piolanti (Rome: Pontificia Università Lateranense, 1967-68), pp. 27-39.

medieval book. The secondary elements that Delaissé emphasises, that is those elements that fall outside of the range of major illumination, include penwork decoration. This new holistic perception of the medieval book was further enhanced by a semiotic approach to its study. Michael Camille's pioneering study of late medieval marginal art directed academic interest to what Camille defined as the subversive realm of the margin.

Academic work of the twentieth century has focused largely on the *fleuronnée* form of penflourishing. Analysis of *fleuronnée* has focused on the association of specific penwork forms with location of production, and the development of those forms and their dissemination in specific areas. This work has produced vocabulary that is developed by the author of the relevant study, which has not necessarily been adopted by other art historians. Part of the problem is the diversity of languages in which the works appear. The vocabulary developed respectively in Czech, French, German, Dutch and English has not resulted in a universally adopted language of descriptive terms. The purpose of this dissertation is not to recreate descriptive vocabulary for the classification of penflourished shapes, or to impose English vocabulary on descriptive terms in other languages. Some new vocabulary terms will be proposed and defining terms in various languages will also be adopted.

In opposition to the general trends of scholarship on the development of penflourishing, the lens of this dissertation will focus out, instead of in, on the intricacies of flourishing constructions. It will follow the development of penflourished application to texts from the late twelfth century, *c.* 1180, when the shift from monastic to commercial production of books begins to emerge as the dominant trend of the coming century. This study will come to a close *c.* 1280, as this is the latest date for production of manuscripts in the William of Devon group, a

prolific association of Parisian trained artists that was possibly based in Oxford. This circle of illuminators will be examined in relation to two other contemporaneous book producing circles, those of William de Brailes and the Sarum Master, who were based in Oxford and probably Salisbury respectively. In particular, this dissertation will focus on the development of the *prolongation à l'italienne*, *bas de page* penflourished structures, that proceed either horizontally or diagonally across the margins of the books. It will suggest an origin for the genesis of these penwork structures, and track their development in Italian, French and English sources. The impact of penflourished *bas de page* structures will be examined in the context of their influence on the development of *mise-en-page* in twelfth- and thirteenth-century book design.

The dissertation is organized according to the following structure. In Chapter 1, the historiography of penflourishing will be examined. Both studies that analyze the structures of penflourishes and their development in specific locations as well as those that query the heuristic function of the flourish, beyond its use as a directional marker in the text, will be reviewed. The work of Jan Květ, 'Kreslený filigrán v rukopisech XII-XIV století', published in 1924 will be discussed in detail, not only because it is difficult to access in Czech, but because it is the first in-depth study of penflourishing. Květ works in the nineteenth-century tradition of art-historical analysis, identifying the acanthus and palmette shapes as elemental decorative forms from classical antiquity. Květ traces the development of these forms in penflourishing from the twelfth through to the fourteenth century. He argues that the increase in use, as well as the stylistic development of filigree initials is one of the major differentiating markers between Romanesque and Gothic art. Květ perceives an increasing abstraction of the originally naturalistic forms of the filigree initial as

flourishing develops in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He argues that this is manifest as a counter-trend to the development of naturalism in the illustrative components of manuscript decoration. His study also proposes that the rise of the flourish was inherently linked to the emergence of commercial book production. The rapidity by which flourishing could be produced in tandem with its lower cost in comparison to illumination in paint and gold, made the flourish an essential tool in the nascent commercial trade.

The studies of Sonia Scott-Fleming and Patricia Stirnemann do not appear until over fifty years from the publication of Květ's important article.⁸ These works provide micro-analytic examination of penflourishes and suggest vocabulary to describe them in English and French respectively. Scott-Fleming suggests that the separation of penflourished letters into three components, the principal, the subsidiary and the infilling, can assist in analyzing the date of their production and indicate the country of origin as well. Stirnemann's article concerns Parisian penwork exclusively. She also uses a micro-analytic approach with regard to the formation and structure of the flourish, but she draws broader conclusions with regard to the relation of the progression of flourishing and the development of Gothic art, particularly in the realm of architecture. Both of these studies demonstrate that

⁸ Both of these studies were preceded by Scott-Fleming's first investigation of penflourishing: Sonia Patterson, 'Comparison of Minor Initial Decoration: A Possible Method of Showing the Place of Origin of Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts', *The Library*, 5, 27 (1972), 23-30, and Margriet Hülsmann's 'Penwerk in Opbouw: Codering Als Beschrijvingsmethode Voor De Structuur Van Marginaal Penwerk', *Middeleeuwse Handschriftenkunde in de Nederlanden 1988: Verslag van de Groningse Codicologendagen, 28-29 april 1988*, ed. by J.M.M. Hermans (Grave: Alfa, 1989), pp. 45-58. Scott-Fleming's original article is expanded in her book, *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth Century Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), and for that reason I have used this edition of her work for my analysis. Hülsmann's article uses similar methodology in examining the structure of the flourish to identify both the location of the manuscript's production and working associations between producers. As her work concerns fifteenth-century manuscripts, and its methodology is replicated by both Scott-Fleming and Stirnemann, I have chosen to focus on these two later authors whose work concerns thirteenth-century manuscripts exclusively.

micro-analysis of flourishing can assist, in a quasi-palaeographic way, in the identification of the time and place of the production of manuscripts.

The only extensive, pan-European study of penflourishing is that of Wolfgang Augustyn and Christine Jacobi-Mirwald. This study, published in 2003, traces the development of flourishing in European manuscripts from the twelfth through to the survival of flourishing in printed books in the nineteenth century. The study is organized firstly by dividing analysis of flourishing into two important forms, the palmette and the bud. These two sections are then further divided by country and arranged in chronological order. Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald suggest Insular sources for the genesis of flourishing, as opposed to Květ's argument for classical, sculptural derivation. The palmette form that is the focus of much of the work of Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald is the same form that is defined as the acanthoid by Květ. Although Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald recognise the role of the growing commercial book trade in the increased use of flourishing in the thirteenth century and onwards through the fifteenth, they suggest that it is the Cistercian restriction in the decoration of books stipulating the use of one colour only applied in pen, not paint, (*'litterae unius coloris fiant, et non depictae'*) that was essential to the promulgation of the flourished letter.⁹ This pan-European approach enables the authors to make general conclusions about the progress of flourishing across the Continent. They suggest that the dominance of the Parisian book trade, and its fashions for decorative embellishment held the greatest influence with regard to the development of penflourishing throughout the late Middle Ages. They acknowledge the influence of Italian flourishing style through the presence of what they refer to as

⁹ See *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, ed. by Jean-Marie Canivez, 8 vols (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933-41), I, (1933), p. 31.

'fleuroneé rods' or prolongations à l'italienne.

Chapter 1 concludes with a review of studies that suggest heuristic function for marginal art, and a case is made for the importance of the aesthetic function of penflourishing. Michael Camille's suggestions regarding the influence of a shift from monastic reading practice, performed publicly, to private reading, in the context of *mise-en-page* of the thirteenth-century book is reviewed. Paul Binski's discussion of the Horatian category of *admiratio*, with regard to the use of the decorated medieval folio is interrogated in contrast to Mary Carruthers' work on the medieval practice of *memoria* in relation to *mise-en-page*. Also discussed is the progress of flourishing from what is most likely to have been a scribal skill, in the late twelfth century to a specialist skill, identified in surviving contracts and colophons, in the fifteenth century. This chapter gives the reader an introduction to the context of art-historical criticism of flourishing as well as an understanding of the ways in which it has been analyzed. It also introduces the reader to the vocabulary of the field.

Chapter 2 addresses the development of penflourishing in England from the last decades of the twelfth century. The lack of *fleuronnée* work in manuscripts produced in England in the second half of the twelfth century is noted, as well as specific ligatures applied largely in paint used to decorate the late-twelfth century initial that emerge as elemental components of *fleuronnée* embellishment. Two major trends in penwork during the twelfth century are observed. The first is the development of the filigree puzzle initial in northwestern France or Paris c. 1140, and the second is the appearance of *jeux de plume* structures, associated with Bolognese legal texts in the last two decades of the century. Stylistic transmission of both of these developments between production centres in Italy, France and England are examined. Special attention is paid to the *jeux de plume* structure and the associated

prolongation à l'italienne in anticipation of their effect on flourishing in England during the thirteenth century. Towards the end of the twelfth century in England penflourishing in association with both letters and grotesques appears, but its form is different from that developing in Bolognese models. Early English flourishing style is examined, and its derivation from Romanesque decorative style is suggested. The recognition of an Early English flourishing style for manuscripts produced in England, and the identification of a specifically Bolognese style, make stylistic encroachments from Bologna apparent when they begin to occur in English manuscripts of the early thirteenth century.

Chapter 3 focuses on the circle of the illuminator William de Brailes, active in Oxford *c.* 1240-60. The canon of de Brailes has been chosen for examination with regard to penflourished embellishment for several reasons. Firstly, the de Brailes corpus provides an extensive cache of survivals associated with an individual artist, and the collaborative nature of book production in thirteenth-century Oxford therefore includes flourishing work from various hands working in diverse styles. The de Brailes corpus is defined, and then divided into three decorative groups classified by type of penflourishing: the Italianate, *Fleuronnée*, and Filigree Puzzle Initial groups. The Italianate group, that of the most deluxe books, demonstrates the use of both *jeux de plume* and *prolongations à l'italienne*. The nature of this influence is examined with reference to specific *bas de page* work. Examples of Italian style in both the Oscott and Rutland Psalters that follow the work of de Brailes are also examined.

The thesis concludes with a fourth chapter in which two additional mid-thirteenth century production groups are examined with regard to the decorative penwork they employ. The works attributed to the Sarum Master, active most

probably in Salisbury *c.* 1250-1260, and the work of the William of Devon group, possibly based in Oxford, *c.* 1260-80, provides similar numbers and types of survivals. These groups are analyzed with regard to the type of penflourished embellishment used. In comparison to the William de Brailes group, the absence of overt Italian influence is striking. Also the general decrease in the use of flourishing, and the increase in painted marginal embellishment by the Parisian trained William of Devon group, demonstrates new styles associated with the production of deluxe books, including the appearance of small grotesques that inhabit the semi-bar borders that announce important sections of texts.

The purpose of this dissertation is the explication of penflourishing style in thirteenth-century England. By the identification of forms and the development of vocabulary to describe them, as well as the recognition of the advancement of these forms in the embellishment of thirteenth-century books, it is hoped that the understanding of book design in the context of the thirteenth century will be advanced. While the work of Květ, Scott-Fleming, Stirnemann and Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald have demonstrated the value of scrutiny of the components of penflourishing, this approach will focus on the broader stylistic implications for the development of penflourished decoration to the border of the book. The incursion of Italian style into English book decoration will be seen to have far reaching consequences. The role of the Oxford illuminator, William de Brailes, whose work contains early evidence of the adoption of Italian *bas de page* approaches in a deluxe context, suggests that de Brailes and his circle played a significant role in the promulgation of this new style in England. De Brailes is well-known for his innovatory use of text and image with regard to the development of the Book of Hours, with the addition of text in the vernacular to enhance the reading experience

for his secular female patron. His is yet the only colophon from thirteenth-century Oxford that declares de Brailes as the maker of both images and in the case of the Book of Hours, the conceptual and actual artist who implemented the making of the book as a whole. The identification of the use of Italian flourishing techniques is perhaps further evidence of the innovative approach to book production adopted by de Brailes in the competitive commercial context of thirteenth-century Oxford.

Chapter 1

Review of Literature

Academic work on the subject of penflourishing divides into two main areas. The first focuses on the specific forms of the flourishes themselves, from where they emanate, and how the recognition of these forms can be used to date the works in which they appear. The second concerns the meaning and use of the flourishes. This semiotic approach to penflourishing is a later development in the historiography of the art. Appearing after the rise of deconstructionist theory as applied to literature via the primary theorists of Jacques Lacan and Jacques Derrida, the work of Michael Camille first broached the subject of marginal art in general under the lens of post-deconstructionist theory.¹⁰ Camille's work directed the attention of art historians to the realm of the margin and while Camille's conclusions were not universally accepted, he did succeed in validating art-historical interest in marginal art. Both of these approaches are important to this study of the development of penflourishing in thirteenth-century English manuscripts. The forms of the flourishing and their implied function and meaning are essential components to the understanding of the development of flourishing in the context of thirteenth-century commercial book production. I will suggest that the development of the forms of the flourish, their placement and implied use are important components of the development of the

¹⁰ For an introduction to Lacanian psycho-analytic theory see *The Cambridge Companion to Lacan*, ed. by Jean-Michel Rabaté (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Derrida's most influential work with regard to art-historical criticism was *La Vérité en peinture* (Paris: Éditions Flammarion, 1978). Camille's work, *Image on the Edge* (London: Reaktion, 1992), was the first to apply a post-deconstructionist approach to medieval marginal art. In his review of *Image on the Edge* for *The Art Bulletin*, 75 (June, 1993), 319-27, Jeffrey Hamburger wrote '...Camille inverts and confounds the rubrics that have dictated the debate over the meaning of marginalia. Polar terms, be they high versus low, sacred versus secular, conscious versus unconscious, are invoked only to be collapsed and conflated. The is the 'edge' to which Camille's title refers, a border where things meet and mingle, rather than a clear categorical boundary' (p. 319).

commercial book.

There have been four major studies of penflourishing in the twentieth century. These studies, which will be analysed in this first section of the chapter, have focused on the specific forms that compose the flourish. The primary work of Jan Květ in 1924, which largely concerned Czech manuscripts, and the more synoptic, pan-European work of Wolfgang Augustyn and Christine Jacobi-Mirwald of 2003, present description of components of penflourished decoration and trace their development from the twelfth through to the fifteenth century.¹¹ The work of Květ focuses on the form of the filigree letter. *Fleuronnée* flourishing that surrounds and extends from the letter is noted but not thoroughly analysed in his study. However, Květ recognises the presence of long penwork lines extending from filigree letters into the margins of the folio. Augustyn and Jacobi- Mirwald disregard the term filigree completely and classify all penflourished decoration to the letter, whether it be in the form of what Květ identifies as the filigree letter, or the long lines of penflourished decoration that appear often in the *bas de page* of manuscripts from the close of the twelfth century, as '*fleuroneé*'.¹² In 1989, Sonia Scott-Fleming proposed a descriptive vocabulary in English with regard to the forms of *fleuronnée* to accompany her work on the development of flourishing in manuscripts produced in England and France in the thirteenth century.¹³ Scott-Fleming does not distinguish filigree initials from *fleuronnée* work, and the attributes of penwork lines that extend

¹¹ See Jan Květ, 'Kreslený filigrán v rukopisech XII-XIV století', *Památky archéologické*, 34, (1924-25), 92-113 and Wolfgang Augustyn, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, 'Fleuroneé', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), cols. 1113-1196.

¹² I will retain Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald's Germanic spelling of '*fleuroneé*' for discussion of their work, as they use a different definition of the word than is usually employed in English for the Francophone spelling '*fleuronnée*'.

¹³ See Sonia Scott-Fleming, *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth Century Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1989).

into the margins of the folio are not included in her analysis of *fleuronnée* forms.

Scott-Fleming argues for the use of specific forms of *fleuronnée* to date the production of manuscripts, and also suggests some forms that are specific to thirteenth-century manuscripts produced in France.

The work of Patricia Stirnemann from 1990 concerns the development of flourishing in Parisian manuscripts of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁴ Stirnemann also suggests that specific forms can be used to localise and date the production of books. The appearance of the Italian forms that are an important component of this dissertation, *jeux de plume* flourishing and the *prolongation à l'italienne*, are noted, by Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald as well as Stirnemann, but the influence and progression of these forms in English manuscripts is not pursued. Each of these studies raise questions with regard to the origin and influence of pen flourishing. In this chapter, each of these studies will be presented and analysed with reference to the questions they raise in the context of this dissertation.

First Thoughts

The literature that examines the forms of penflourishes and their development begins in European art-historical criticism from the late nineteenth century. The work of Ferdinand Denis in 1880 and Karel Lamprecht in 1882 initiate interest in what they defined as ornamental components of medieval manuscripts in the form of decorated initials.¹⁵ Both of these writers focus on the painted aspects of the

¹⁴ See P. D. Stirnemann, 'Fils de la vierge: L'initiale à filigranes parisienne, 1140-1314', *Revue de l'Art*, 90 (1990), 58-73 as well as 'Dating, Placing and Illumination', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 11 (2008), 155-166.

¹⁵ See Ferdinand J. Denis, *Histoire de l'ornementation des manuscrits* (Paris: L. Cumer, 1857) and Karel Lamprecht, *Die Initiale-Ornamentik des VIII. bis XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Alphonse Dürr, 1882).

ornamental initial. The earliest work on the definition of penwork shapes by their specific forms appears in the work of the Czech art historian, Jan Květ. Květ's 'Kreslený filigrán v rukopisech XII-XIV století' ('The Design of Filigranes in Manuscripts of the 12th to the 14th Century') was published in *Památky archéologické* in 1924.¹⁶ Here Květ notes the absence of work on the origin of what he refers to as 'filigrane' letters. He notes that both Max Dvořák and his student Betty Kurth register an interest in filigree letters and identify the period of their greatest use in Czech manuscripts as the late thirteenth through to the fifteenth century.¹⁷ In Dvořák's study of the illuminator Johann von Neumarkt, he records what may be the first definition of filigree letters:

Alongside book decorating by painters evolved, in the Middle Ages, an ornamental style, which is very old, and which adopted certain specific types in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Even though a scribe did not possess the same techniques or knowledge as a painter-illuminator, he did not want to remove decorative styles from his manuscripts. Therefore, he would decorate initials in red or blue colours in a rich calligraphic style using pens. It is worth noting that, specific rules developed when using this primitive and it seems primary technique. A letter was decorated such that the centre and the edge of the field were decorated by using hairlines creating palmettes, spirals and volutes and little circles on stems, organized into circles or semicircles. The ornament creates a background of white dots, which then create various different images. Alongside the pillar of text stretches a line of *kapilars* either in red or blue or a line of red or blue twigs, which are decorated with small circles.¹⁸

It is important to note that Dvořák describes filigree initials as '*fleuronee*'. The

¹⁶ See Jan Květ, 'Kreslený filigrán v rukopisech XII-XIV století', *Památky archéologické*, 34 (1924-25), 92-113.

¹⁷ See Max Dvořák, *Die Illuminatoren des Johann von Neumarkt* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1901) and Betty Kurth, 'Fragmente aus einem gotischen Schriftmusterbuch in der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg', *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der K.K. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege*, 9, (1915), 174-182.

¹⁸ I have relied on Květ's quotation of this passage from Dvořák's book noted in fn. 3, *Die Illuminatoren des Johann von Neumarkt*. Jarka Rudavska kindly translated it for me. See Květ, p. 93.

terminology used to describe penflourished forms is still unstable in contemporary art-historical criticism. The terminology proposed in the vocabulary that precedes this dissertation will be followed here. The '*fleuronee*' that Dvořák describes is classified as '*filigrane*' by Květ. Květ reserves the classification of '*fleuronee*' for penflourished decoration to the letter that has 'naturalistic' elements. He identifies '*fleuronee*' as emerging from the late thirteenth century, and proposes the *Beatus* folio of the Windmill Psalter as an example. The type of decorated letter that Květ describes as '*filigrane*' will be described as '*filigree*' in this dissertation.

The example below is from a late thirteenth-century missal (1294) in Prague. Květ uses this filigree 'E' to illustrate what he perceives as the beginnings of a new type of manuscript decoration that he suggests evolved from the end of the Romanesque era (Figure 1.1).



Figure 1.1: Prague, The Library of the Metropolitan Chapter, Cod. P. 3, f. 133v.

For Květ, the genesis of the filigree letter is the most important marker in differentiating between Romanesque and Gothic styles with regard to manuscript decoration. The geometric and abstract forms that are used to compose the filigree letter are its essential characteristics. Květ suggests that the use of ink, largely red

(*vermillium*) and blue (*lazur graecum*) gives filigree a flat, linear appearance in comparison to the three dimensional effect achieved by painting decorated initials in pigment.¹⁹ Květ argues that these components can be found in the infill techniques used to decorate Romanesque initials.²⁰ The example below from a late twelfth-century Epistolary highlights what Květ identifies as the essential components of Romanesque initial decoration, the acanthus and palmette shapes (Figure 1.2).²¹



Figure 1.2: Prague, The Library of the Metropolitan Chapter, Cod. A. LXI, f. 116r.

The acanthus shape can be seen in the letter ‘K’ in this example, curling inside the confines of the letter itself, the positioning of the acanthus suggesting an ‘S’ inside the ‘K’. The three-lobed palmette emerges from the centre of the letter. Květ suggests that the acanthus shape was a decorative motif inherited from antiquity in various media. Here he follows the work of Alois Riegl who argued the central importance of the acanthus motif to both Egyptian and Roman art, but he sidesteps Riegl’s assertion that the Roman representation of acanthus did not derive from the plant itself but

¹⁹ Květ, p. 93.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 94.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 95.

from a sculptural representation of the palmette form. Riegl famously and controversially argued that the acanthus motif in Roman art was ‘a product of pure artistic invention’.²² Květ is not concerned with the genesis of the acanthus form, but recognises its consistent appearance in ornamental art in the ancient world. He states that ‘the history of filigrane and its origin becomes the history of acanthus.’²³ The progress of acanthus is towards complete abstraction from its natural form. The acanthus shape contracts as it evolves in the context of filigree initials, allowing the flourisher to produce curled and spiral representations of the form. Květ perceives these innovations in the use of acanthus as a process of abstraction that will result in a new form that he calls ‘acanthoid’. The acanthoid shape is a general term for any sort of adjustment to the acanthus form. Some of these forms have been renamed by art historians in various languages. For example, in Květ’s chart of acanthoid forms below, the form in the far right-hand corner (f) is classified as an ‘extended fan’ by Sonia Scott-Fleming in her work on thirteenth-century *fleuronnée* in English and French manuscripts (Figure 1.3).²⁴



Figure 1.3: Květ (1924), p. 99

Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald refer to these forms as ‘*Palmette*’ or ‘*Halbpalmette*’.

²² Alois Riegl, *Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament*, trans. by Evelyn Kain (Princeton, Princeton University, 1992), p. 200. The first edition of Riegl’s work appeared as *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (Berlin: George Siemens, 1893).

²³ Květ, p. 97. (‘Historie filigránu a jeho počatku stává se nám historií akantu’).

²⁴ For the chart, see Květ, p. 99. For Scott-Fleming see *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), pp. 44-45. Scott-Fleming describes a development of this shape as a ‘pointing finger’ fan. See p. 60.

They appear in examples 3 a-f of their chart below (Figure 1.4).²⁵

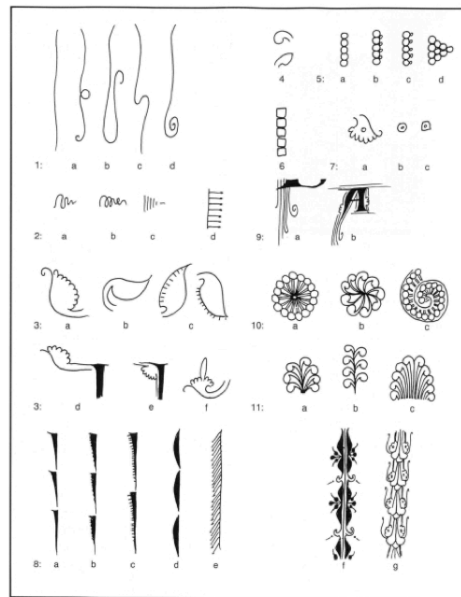


Figure 1.4: Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald (2003), col. 1117-1118

However, neither Scott-Fleming nor Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald identify the classical acanthus motif as the source for this form.

For Květ, the two main influences on the development of filigree initials from the twelfth through to the fifteenth century are a perceived drive towards abstraction, as opposed to naturalistic representation, and the development of the acanthoid form. Both the acanthoid and the acanthus forms can be present in the same decorative scheme. *Fleuronné*, defined in this dissertation as the penworked decoration which clings to and extends from the decorated letter, evolves as the techniques used to embellish the ground of the letter spill over into the margin. Květ argues that acanthus and acanthoid forms diminish in size in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The acanthus and acanthoid shapes are reduced in size, seemingly

²⁵ See Wolfgang Augustyn, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, 'Fleuronné', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), cols. 1117-1118.

because of pressure on the area of space available for decoration. These forms retract and evolve into ‘thread-like lines and spirals’.²⁶ In association with the process of abstraction, Květ notes the development of what he refers to as a ‘*cvikly*’ (roulade) design in the initials that is defined in contemporary art-historical terminology as the filigree puzzle initial. He notes that this technique, whereby a blank space is left between two sections of a filigree initial is soon complicated by the addition of spiked, or what would later be referred to as puzzle effects (Figure 1.5).²⁷



Figure 1.5: London, BL, Harley MS 1708, f. 31r.

Květ finds that the abstract final form of the filigree initial is a deliberate contrast to the naturalism and realism in evidence for the painted miniatures. This contrast is summarized as ‘the artistic and historic importance of filigranes, which in the midst of realism in the naturalist era become a manifesto of the other element of the human spirit, the idealistic element, geometrical and abstract’.²⁸

There are two additions to the development of filigree letters that Květ

²⁶ Květ, p. 102. (‘vlasových linií a spirál behem’).

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 104.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 110. I have relied on Jarka Rudavska’s translation of this passage.

identifies as the form develops in the thirteenth century. These are small circles which are placed inside or adjacent to the confines of the filigree letter. These small circles sometimes have a smaller dot in their centres.²⁹ He also notes the development of decorative lines extending into the margins of the text from the letters.³⁰ Květ argues that these lines are punctuated by developed versions of the palmette form. He argues that these are graphic as opposed to ornamental components, and links their development to that of line fillers, suggesting that these decorated lines are reminiscent of connected rows of the letter 'J' (Figure 1.6).

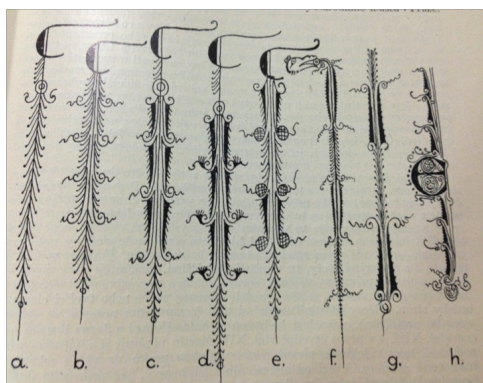


Figure 1.6: Květ (1924), p. 107

They are thereby a link between the graphic realm of writing and the context of the decorated letter. Květ argues that the 'J-motif' (*Forma J*) created by the punctuations added to the line by the palmette form emerges as an important component in the marginal decoration of manuscripts from the second half of the thirteenth century.³¹

Henry Martin had suggested in 1906 that these forms were a means by which books produced in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries by the commercial

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 106-07. Patricia Stirnemann (1990) describes these masses of small circles, sometimes with a dot inside, as 'frogs' eggs' (*oeufs de grenouille*), pp. 59 and 68. Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald classify them as 'pearls' (*Perle*). They refer to the dots inside the pearls as kernels (*Kerne*). See Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald, col. 1119.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 107-09.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 108.

Parisian illuminators, Master Honoré and Jean Pucelle, could be identified.³² Here Květ produces evidence that the technique was present in manuscripts produced in a much wider variety of locations. He cites examples from books produced in England in the second half of the thirteenth century, as well as fourteenth-century examples from Provençal, Italian and Czech manuscripts.³³

Květ's pioneering work identified key ideas with regard to the study of penflourishing. He identified the genesis of penflourished embellishment to the letter in Romanesque manuscripts, and linked the forms used to decorate the Romanesque initial to the forms used in pen, as opposed to pigment in early penflourished decoration in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. This precept will be applied to the development of flourishing in English twelfth century manuscripts in the next chapter. The essential components of penflourished decoration, the acanthus, the acanthoid, the palmette, the circle and half circle, either with or without the additional dot or pearl inside the circle were identified, and the development of long lines in pen, usually punctuated by a compressed or altered version of a palmette shape was also recognised. Květ rejects Dvořák's assertion that penflourishing was a 'primitive' form of manuscript embellishment, superseded and rejected by the advance of illumination of the letter in pigment and gold. He argues that flourishing in pen emerged primarily in response to the rise of literary culture in the thirteenth century.³⁴ This interesting observation is certainly in agreement with the documented rise of commercial book production in the thirteenth century, as is his observation

³² See Henry Martin, *Les miniaturistes français* (Paris: H. Leclerc, 1906), p. 64. See also Květ, p. 108. Květ describes the work of Master Honoré and Pucelle as the school of the Ile-de-France.

³³ For these examples, which Květ has accessed through catalogues, see pp. 107-09.

³⁴ See Květ, p. 93, and on p. 94 where Květ suggests that decoration in pen as opposed to pigment was perhaps due in part to the Cistercian reaction against what was perceived as the over-use and importance of illumination in gold and pigment paint.

that work in pen was cheaper than that in paint. The demand for books of all sorts, and the immense appeal of those with embellishment to the secular patron, suggest a reason for the rise of penflourished decoration. This trend will be in evidence for the circle of William de Brailes and William of Devon, with both groups producing books of the same genre but in various decorative formats, whereby the use of filigree puzzle initials is used in place of painted illumination. Květ also suggested that the increased demand for books in the thirteenth century impelled the makers of books to seek out faster methods of producing their merchandise.³⁵ Penflourishing is no doubt a quicker method for decoration than the complex business of illumination in gold and paint, but many books contained both types of embellishment. However, the use of penflourished decoration in response to pressure on producers to provide more of their stock, and more quickly, with associated financial gains is a credible suggestion. The survival of many unilluminated, but pendecorated books, gives support to this theory.

At the end of his article, Květ surmises that penflourished decoration in the form of the filigree initial most probably began almost simultaneously in northwestern France and southern England, due to the cultural affinity of the two politically linked societies in the late twelfth century. Stirnemann locates the rise of the filigree puzzle initial to the schools of Paris and northwestern France in the 1140s,³⁶ but Květ is surely correct with regard to the genesis and the rapid

^{35.} *Ibid.*

^{36.} See Stirnemann (1990), p. 60. (Cette première période [1140-60] connaît deux inventions durables... La première, l'initiale 'puzzle' à filigranes, consiste en un cadre de deux couleurs décalées (bien connu en Angleterre et Normandie depuis un demi-siècle) qui accueille à Paris vers 1140-1150 un décor filigrané. Elle s'approprie une place déterminée dans la hiérarchie du décor au-dessous de l'initiale champie et au-dessus de la lettre filigranée- et survit jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Age. La deuxième, un motif en forme d'aile qui accuse l'articulation supérieure de la haste, reste la marque des styles parisiens jusqu'au troisième quart du xiii^e siècle).

dissemination of penflourished embellishment on ‘both sides of the Canal La Manche...which did not represent a border between two different cultural worlds as we see today’.³⁷ While Květ does recognise the influence of Italian style in manuscript decoration, he does not discuss the academic channels through which this new style could emanate. The cultural connections of Oxford, Paris and Bologna as well as other northern Italian centres provided fluid conduits for the movement of not only ideas but also the embellishment to the books that contained the required academic content, particularly for the discipline of law.

Micro-Analysis

The next study dedicated to the analysis of penflourishing did not appear for well over half a century. Sonia Scott-Fleming’s study, *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth Century Manuscripts* published in 1989, focused on a selection of English and French manuscripts from the thirteenth century.³⁸ Some of the manuscripts were firmly ascribed to a country of origin, and others were identified as ‘probable’ productions of either France or England in general. Like Patricia Stirnemann’s study, which followed Scott-Fleming’s in 1990, Scott-Fleming’s argument suggests that by dissecting the composition of what she refers to as the ‘*fleuronnée*’ letter, and isolating and naming that proto-typical component, that the association of a specific component with a specific time and place can be established.³⁹ As opposed to the Květian view that the filigree letter emerged from a

³⁷ Květ, p. 111. I have relied on Rudavska’s translation of this passage.

³⁸ See also Scott-Fleming’s precursor to this study under her maiden name, Sonia Patterson, ‘Comparison of Minor Initial Decoration: A Possible Method of Showing the Place of Origin of Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts’, *The Library*, 27 (1972), 23-30.

³⁹ Scott-Fleming follows the work of Margriet Hülsman, ‘Penwerk in Opbouw: Codering Als Beschrijvingsmethode Voor De Structuur Van Marginaal Penwerk’, *Middeleeuwse Handschriftenkunde in de Nederlanden 1988: Verslag van de Groningse Codicologendagen*, 28-29

central form that evolved in a progression of abstraction over time, Scott-Fleming recognises specific and distinct shapes, and although she accepts that some of the shapes are often used in tandem with others, she perceives the development of *fleuronnée* forms as individualistic developments. A central function of Scott-Fleming's work is to create a vocabulary to describe the forms she perceives. Because Scott-Fleming is very receptive to recognising small differences in *fleuronnée* forms, shapes that a critic like Květ would perhaps have classed under one term, flourishes that are close in form are here defined by specific names, denoting their nuanced differences. She further suggests that each initial has three components: the principal component, the subsidiary component and infillings.⁴⁰ I will describe here only the 'principal components'.

Scott-Fleming identifies the central element to *fleuronnée* as the 'open loop', which is used ubiquitously in conjunction with other forms (Figure 1.7).

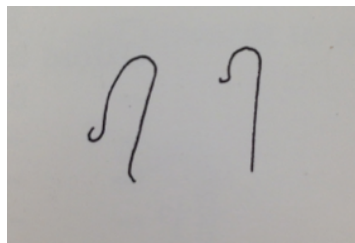


Figure 1.7: The Open Loop, (Scott-Fleming (1989), p. 29)

Of the other principal components isolated by Scott-Fleming, many are stylistically linked such as the 'long stalked bulb', the 'cat's paw', the 'nose', the 'extended fan' and the 'pointing finger fan'. These components suggest a common ancestor, the acanthoid shape (Figures 1.8-1.12).

april 1988, ed. by J. M. M. Hermans (Grave: Alfa, 1989), pp. 45-58, in which she suggested analysis of fifteenth-century flourishing in Dutch manuscripts by separating the flourishes into named components.

⁴⁰ Scott-Fleming (1989), p. 11.

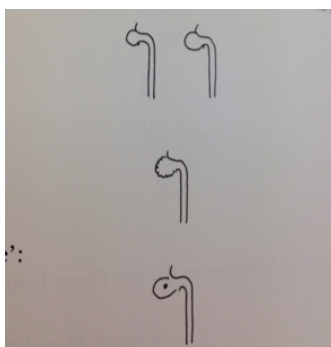


Figure 1.8: The Long Stalked Bulb, (Scott-Fleming (1989), p. 32)

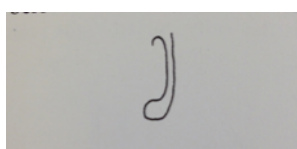


Figure 1.9: The Cat's Paw, (Scott-Fleming (1989), p. 40)

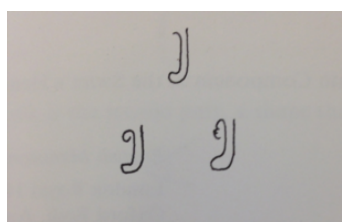


Figure 1.10: The Nose, which is very similar in structure to the Cat's Paw, (Scott-Fleming (1989), p. 61)

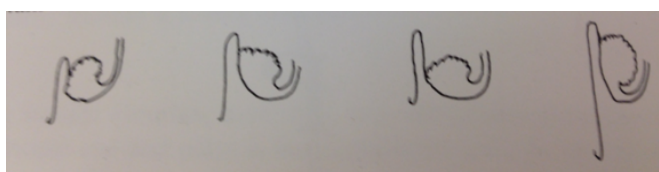


Figure 1.11: The Extended Fan, (Scott-Fleming (1989), p. 44)



Figure 1.12: The 'Pointing Finger' Fan (Scott-Fleming (1989), p. 60)

Scott-Fleming's close analysis of the components of *fleuronnée* leads her to suggest that certain associations of the forms can be located in either the first or the second half of the thirteenth century.⁴¹ She also finds that it is possible to identify certain combinations of forms as specifically English or French.⁴² Scott-Fleming's study does not seek to identify major stylistic trends in manuscript decoration, but rather to identify micro-components which may indicate both date and place of production. Scott-Fleming's work functions as a quasi-palaeographic tool by which the formation of flourishes are analysed, much in the same way that script is analysed for qualities that indicate date and origin.

Patricia Stirnemann's study, 'Fils de la vierge: L'initiale filigranes parisienne 1140-1314', draws its area of concentration even more tightly than Scott-Fleming's in that it focuses on Parisian filigree initials only. Close analysis of the forms of the flourishing associated with just one production centre allows Stirnemann to draw conclusions about the appearance of specific types of flourishing with regard to developed shapes in time frames of twenty to thirty years. The evolution of the flourishing techniques that Stirnemann observes denotes the rapid development of the form, as well as the distinct qualities associated with its developmental phases. Like Květ, Stirnemann observes the progression of abstraction as the thirteenth century proceeds. In contrast to Květ, she does not ascribe an emerging and contrasting aesthetic to this development, but rather consistent qualities of abstraction, 'lightness', and unity with regard to *mise-en-page*. Stirnemann compares the role of the filigree letter to that of a supporting actor who draws together the

⁴¹. Scott-Fleming, pp. 72-75.

⁴². *Ibid.*

whole of the work.⁴³ Stirnemann has selected the manuscripts in this study beginning c. 1140, following the evidence provided for commercial illuminators in Paris in the work of Carl Nordenfalk, Christopher de Hamel and Walter Cahn.⁴⁴ The end date of the study, 1314, was chosen as it marks not only the close of the reign of Philip the Fair, but also the beginning of a new style of filigree that dominates its use in the fourteenth century.

Stirnemann defines filigree initials as those surrounded by ‘thread-like’ lines. She notes that the letter and the accompanying filigree decoration are almost always applied in contrasting colours, usually red and blue, but also green, purple and gold. Stirnemann finds that the red in Parisian flourishing consistently was made from vermillion, as opposed to minium, and that the blue was made from a mineral, as opposed to vegetal material, such as azurite or lapis lazuli. The cheaper woad-based blue had a faded quality, and appears frequently in university manuscripts.⁴⁵ Stirnemann also finds that developments in Gothic architecture are mirrored in the development of the filigree initial.

...émergent des tendances qui s'affirment progressivement au xiii^e siècle: la recherche d'une complexité visuelle générée par la multiplication des éléments; la poursuite délibérée d'une verticalité aiguë grêle et cohérente; la création de faisceaux linéaires aux échelonnements et liaisons secondaires; la recherche des effets de transparence et de légèreté, d'élégance menue et de raffinement.⁴⁶

⁴³ See Patricia Stirnemann, ‘Fils de la vierge: L’initiale à filigranes parisienne 1140-1314’, *Revue de l’art* (1990), 58-73, (p. 58).

⁴⁴ See Carl Nordenfalk, review of *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani* by Anthony Melnikas in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), 318-337, Christopher de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Book Trade* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1984) and Walter Cahn, *La Bible romane: chefs-d’oeuvre de l’enluminure* (Freiburg and Paris: Office du Livre, 1982), pp. 278-79.

⁴⁵ Stirnemann, p. 59.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, (... certain tendencies emerged that were gradually affirmed over the course of the thirteenth century: the search for visual complexity complemented by a multiplication of visual components; the deliberate pursuit of acute, thin and coherent verticality; the creation of linear beams for staging and secondary support; the search for elements that give the impression of transparency or lightness – of

One of Stirnemann's strengths as a critic is to observe nuance of style. This summary of her work will only include the major developments that she assigns to each time period. Stirnemann identifies two important stylistic developments from her first period of study, 1140-1160. These are the emergence of the filigree puzzle initial from about 1140, as well as the wing-shaped form that is drawn at both the top and bottom of the stem of the initial. The early filigree initials are drawn in blue and red, and there is not always an articulating blank space between the two colours. The serrated shapes of the edges of the bi-colour initials suggest the name of the form. Scalloped edges are the overriding general form for the edges of Parisian initials at this time. The example below includes all three elements: the scalloped edge, the wing motif and the filigree puzzle form (Figure 1.13).

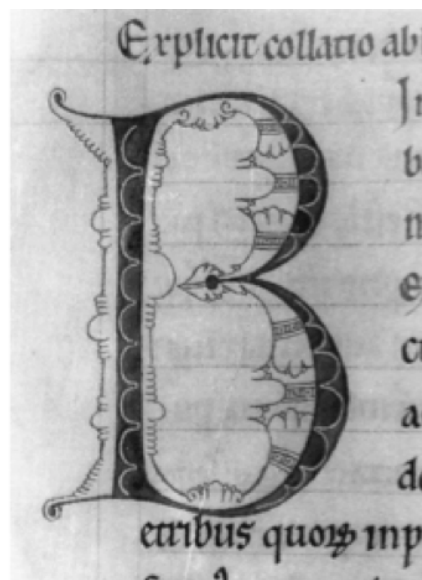


Figure 1.13: Paris, BNF, Lat. 14245, f. 59r. (Stirnemann (1990), p. 60)

In the period 1160-80, Stirnemann associates the diffusion of the works of Peter Lombard with the development of the most distinctive element of Parisian

elegance and refinement).

flourishing from this period, *le long doigt*, that remains a pervasive component of *fleuronnée* in both France and England through the first quarter of the thirteenth century (Figure 1.14).



Figure 1.14: Paris, Archives Nationales K. 24, no.6, unfoliated. (Stirnemann (1990), p. 60)

Also noted for this period are penwork lines that extend above the initials, as well as floreate motifs and small circles that mark the corners of the letter.

In the following twenty-year period (1180-1200) the filigree initial in Paris becomes increasingly complex, with further complications of turns and twists appearing in the arrangement of the filigree lines, in both the exterior and interior of the initial. Stirnemann notes the emergence of Italian-influenced extensions from the filigree letter, as well as the use of filigree to surround paraph marks (*pieds de mouche*).⁴⁷ The example below demonstrates the development of the extended line from the initial (Figure 1.15). The Italian source for this development will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

⁴⁷. Stirnemann, pp. 62-63.



Figure 1.15: Paris, BNF, Lat. 11756, f. 207r. (Stirnemann, p. 64)

From 1200-1230, Stirnemann suggests that the trend towards complexity continues, and the counter-curve, or the ‘hairpin’ (*épingle cheveux*) effect develops. There is a break in development *c.* 1230 that Stirnemann ascribes to the University strike of 1229-1230, during which time the masters and students dispersed, and the requirement for books no doubt dramatically decreased.⁴⁸ Stirnemann finds that the style of flourishing when the university reassembled was softer than previously. The two main developments from the following period from 1230-1250 were the consolidation of the ‘J-chain’ or ‘J-motif’ as described by Květ, and the tiny clusters of circles that Stirnemann describes as ‘frog eggs’.⁴⁹ The following example shows the presence of both forms (Figure 1.16). The J-chain extends down the margin of the text block, and the frogs’ eggs cluster around the bowl of the letter.

^{48.} Stirnemann, pp. 64-66.

^{49.} *Ibid*, pp. 67-68.



Figure 1.16: Paris, BNF, Lat. 9970, f. 55v. (Stirnemann (1990)), p. 68

Both Stirnemann and Květ recognise the emergence of the J-motif, and both ascribe it to Italian influence, but Květ argues that the development of the J-chain is part of the evolution of the palmette, while Stirnemann perceives this component to be an Italian invention. While Květ observed the continual development of a basic form, Stirnemann recognises that the innovation of new forms, even if they derive from a common ancestor, become developed intensely in the context of an urban commercial environment. When a form travelled from one place to another, localisation with regard to style could result in strongly differentiated results.

Although Stirnemann's study continues through to 1314, this examination of her work will close at the next section from 1250-1270. In this period, Stirnemann observes the consolidation of the elements of filigree, but also changes in the size of the components as well as a revival of densely coloured, stencil-like components that derive from twelfth-century models (Figure 1.17).⁵⁰



Figure 1.17: Paris, BNF, Lat. 15613, f. 139v. (Stirnemann (1990)), p. 69

Pan-European Classification

Wolfgang Augustyn and Christine Jacobi-Mirwald's 2003 article, '*Fleuroneé*' is the most ambitious work in the canon of studies on penflourishing.⁵¹ In many ways

⁵⁰ Stirnemann, pp. 69-71.

⁵¹ See Wolfgang Augustyn, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, '*Fleuroneé*', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), cols. 1113-96. This article will be referred to using the names of the first two authors of this work in the dissertation.

it is the only true successor to the innovative work of Květ in its pan-European approach. However, it is also a reactive work in response to the contributions to the field of Scott-Fleming and Stirnemann.⁵² While recognising the value of these works, Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald attempt to adjust some of the vocabulary suggested in English by Scott-Fleming, and simultaneously to expand the range of the field in the examination of specific types of flourishing across a very wide range of countries and time periods. The study begins with twelfth-century examples, and concludes with the use of *fleuronnée* in not only incunables and printed books, but in nineteenth-century literature as well.

The study is organised in terms of two *fleuronnée* forms, the palmette and the bud, that are then subdivided by their appearance in the context of a range of countries. But before the study begins, '*fleuronné*' is defined. In seeming agreement with Květ, Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald define *fleuronnée* as

...ein vornehmlich beim Buchschmuck verwendetes lineares Ornament aus stilisierten Blatt- und Blütenformen, die um naturalistisch vegetabile, figürliche oder geometrische Motive erweitert sein können.⁵³

The term *fleuronnée* is disassociated from those of '*filigrane*' or '*filigranée*' by the authors who argue that these terms are too closely associated via French analysis with a specific type of *fleuronnée* that is on the rise in the thirteenth century, often

⁵² Nigel Morgan's article, 'The Decorative Ornament of the Text and Page in Thirteenth-century England: Initials, Border Extensions and Line Fillers', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 10 (2002), 1-33, provides an overview and definition of components of decoration to English manuscripts. His broad definition of 'pen sprays', used to identify penflourished pen projections from a grotesque source, will be refined in chapter 2. There is a differentiation apparent in the structure of 'pen sprays', which are an element of Romanesque decoration, and Italian influenced thirteenth-century renditions of the form. His proposed definition of 'pen extensions' will also be reviewed in the context of Italian influence.

⁵³ Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald, col. 1113. (...is a linear ornament, predominantly used in the decoration of books, of stylised leaf and blossom forms that may be developed around naturalistic vegetative, figurative or geometric motifs).

referred to as ‘filigree-initials’.⁵⁴ They argue that the limited art-historical reference of the terms with regard to timeframe, and the confusion with the use of the terms to describe both motifs for bookbindings in leather and watermarks on paper lead the authors to disregard these terms in favour of the generic term ‘*fleuroneé*’.⁵⁵ While Květ limits the term *fleuroneé* to the description of penflourishing of a naturalistic type that he argues emerged from the end of the thirteenth century, Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald disregard the term filigree in favour of *fleuroneé*.

Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald identity the palmette form as the elemental component of penflourished decoration. In contrast to Květ, they do not include the acanthus shape, but it appears from their examples that they include the variations of the acanthus or acanthoid shapes in their definition of the palmette. The authors do not trace the acanthus form to the ancient world but rather place the development of *fleuroneé* from the presentation of small initials in Carolingian manuscripts from Tours. It is suggested that this technique was copied by tenth-century Anglo-Saxon scribes and artists, and subsequently imitated in Normandy from the first half of the eleventh century. The rolled-in leaf forms were used as termini for the tips of letters, and acanthoids or palmettes were used to decorate letter shafts.⁵⁶

The authors define the other basic forms of *fleuroneé* as the bud (*die Knospe*),

^{54.} *Ibid.* col. 1115.

^{55.} *Ibid.* (F [*fleuroneé*].initialen werden, ausgehend von der französischsprachigen Lit. und dort angeregt durch eine bestimmte, seit dem 13. Jh. vorkommende und der graphischen Wiedergabe von Filigran gleichende Form des F. Diese Bezeichnung trifft nur eingeschränkt zu und wird, auch wegen des Gebrauchs von ‘filigrane’ und ‘filigranée’ für Motive auf Bucheinbänden und für Wasserzeichen, hier nicht gebraucht).

^{56.} *Ibid.* col. 1120 (Solcher Initialenschmuck geht auf die Art der Gestaltung kleinerer Initialen in Hss. karol. Zeit aus Tours zurück., z. B. der sog. Rorigo-Bibel (Paris, Bibl. nat., ms. lat. 3, zw. 834 und 843, fol. 176: Köhler Bd. 1,1 Taf. 32 e). Diese ahmte man im angelsächsischen Raum in Hss. seit dem 10. Jh. nach und, wohl von diesen abhängig, seit der 1. H. 11. Jh. in Hss. aus der Normandie bei untergeordneten Initialen [2, S. 99]. Dabei wurde das Fadenrankenornament mit verdicktem eingerollten Blättchen am Ende verdichtet und mit dem Dekor des Buchstabenschaftes, gezeichneten Palmetten u. a. verbunden).

a round or sharp-edged oval form always at the end of a stem, the pearl (*die Perle*), which is a small circle, most often in compressed groups and the kernel (*die Kerne*), which is a dot inside the pearl.⁵⁷ Also noted are small rows of rectangular shapes (*Viereckige Formen*) (Figure 1.18).⁵⁸

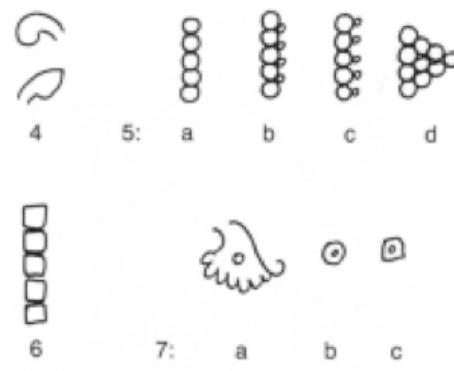


Figure 1.18: Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald, cols. 1117-1118. 'Buds' are shown as example 4, 'pearls' in example 5 a, b, c and d, 'kernels' in examples 7 a, b and c and rectangular shapes in example 6.

It is suggested that *fleuroneé* is composed of the repetition of these shapes in clusters and that specific forms and their arrangement can be used to identify both where the manuscript was produced and to suggest a date for its production.

In addition to clustered groups of forms that surround initials and fill in their interior space, Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald also include what they define as '*fleuroneé* rods' in their classification of *fleuroneé* as a whole. The '*fleuroneé* Stäben' are identified as straight lines of pen which are punctuated in various ways including wedge forms (*Keilformen*), saw blades in a dashed and undashed form (*Sägeblättern*), circle segments (*Kreissegmenten*) and fishbone forms (*Fischgräten-Form*) (Figure 1.19).⁵⁹

^{57.} *Ibid*, cols. 1117-18.

^{58.} *Ibid*, cols. 1119.

^{59.} *Ibid*.

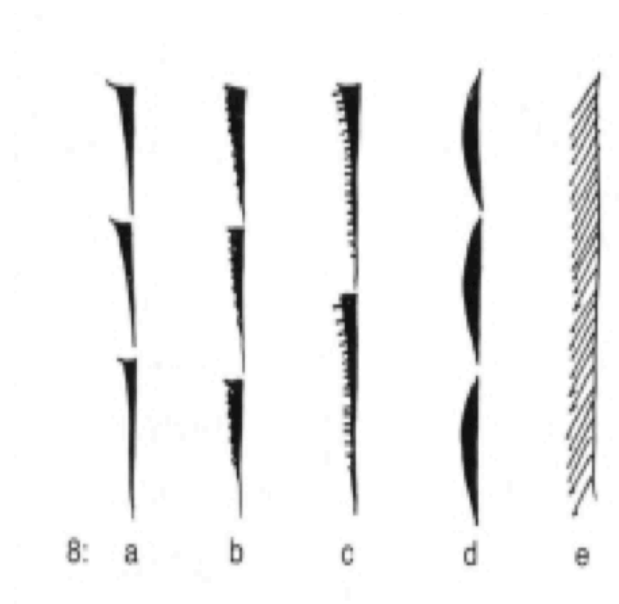


Figure 1.19: Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald, cols. 1117-1118. The variations of fleuronée rods (*Fleuroneé Stäben*) include: 8a wedge forms (*Keilformen*), 8b. saw blades (*Sägeblättern*), 8c. dashed sawblades, (*gestrichelt*) 8d. circle segments (*Kreissegmenten*) and 8e. fishbone forms (*Fischgräten-Form*).

These are simplified representations of forms that can be very complex, and a very different analysis than that suggested by Květ. Květ's analysis emphasized the role of the palmette as a punctuating device on the penwork line, creating the effect of a chain of 'J's', which Květ defined as the 'J-motif'. Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald also note the presence of compact 'vegetal' forms (Figure 1.20).⁶⁰

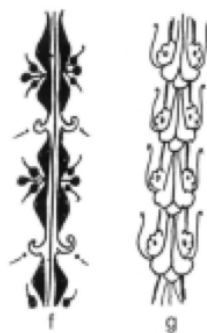


Figure 1.20: Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald, cols. 1117-1118, *vegetabile Formen*

⁶⁰. *Ibid.*

Květ would classify these forms as derivations of the palmette. The design on the left, marked f in Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald's example, can be associated with Bolognese designs that derive from twelfth-century legal manuscripts that will be discussed in the next chapter of the dissertation. Both examples show the counterbend in formation that would identify this form with the J-motif type identified by Květ. It may be that Květ had limited access to original material, and that he did not encounter the forms documented by Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald. The fact that Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald do not specify the generic J-motif is not particularly relevant for their argument as their interest is in mapping the appearance of the forms they identify as crucial for the development of *fleuronnée*, as opposed to Květ's purpose in tracing the development of the acanthus and palmette forms from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries.

Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald organise their further analysis of '*fleuronné*' by the two major types of flourished shapes that they have defined: the palmette and the bud. Each form is then presented chronologically by its documented appearance by country. Before this analysis of the palmette and bud forms of *fleuronnée*, the authors discuss early or 'pre-forms' of flourishing. It is suggested that early forms of decoration to the letter were often associated in the twelfth century with Cistercian manuscripts. The authors associate the appearance of rolled-leaf forms to the termini of letters and the inclusion of drawn palmettes in Cistercian manuscripts, as noted also by Květ, after the prohibition in 1134 on the use of elaborate, coloured decoration in books.⁶¹

Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald suggest that the 'pre-forms' of *fleuronnée* are

⁶¹. *Ibid*, col. 1120. The clause from the Cistercian rule is quoted here: 'litterae unius coloris fiant, et non depictae'. See *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, ed. by Jean-Marie Canivez, 8 vols (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933-41), I, (1933), p. 31.

observable in manuscripts produced in northern France and in Paris between 1160 and 1180, and that a characteristic component of the decorated letter in the pre-form stage of development would most often include what they describe as ‘*schräge Reihen von Häkchen*’ (slanting rows of check marks) that were subsequently developed into ‘*Flügel*’ (wings), particularly in Parisian manuscripts (Figure 1.21)



Figure 1.21: Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 72, f. 19v.

The infill of the letter in this location and timeframe is often symmetrically arranged palmettes. The authors note that these significant characteristics do not appear in Burgundian manuscripts from Cîteaux and Clairvaux until much later in the twelfth century.⁶²

The absence of the ‘*Flügel*’ motif is observed in English manuscripts in general, and it is proposed that *fleuronnée* does not appear in English manuscripts

^{62.} *Ibid*, col. 1122.

until the late twelfth century. I will confirm this observation in the next chapter, and suggest that not only Parisian but Italian influence is at work with regard to the progress of penflourishing in English manuscript embellishment. Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald suggest that Parisian models are followed in German speaking areas but they follow several decades later on, with the presence of *fleuronnée* only being universally established in the first decades of the thirteenth century, and that southern Germany follows even later, with *fleuronnée* becoming established as a decorative commonplace by the first third of the thirteenth century. For Italian manuscripts from the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, the authors note the presence of:

...unteren Randbereich reichende, horizontal oder vertikal angeordnete vegetabile Gehänge, die mit anthropomorphen oder zoomorphen Formen kombiniert sein können.⁶³

These forms will play an important role in the development of penflourishing in both France and England as the thirteenth century proceeds. The association of figurative insertions, often in the form of grotesques, that usually spout the flourish from their mouths in a straight line, is an Italian component that contrasts with the spouting of lines in pen in an arc, which is a Romanesque convention.⁶⁴ This differentiation will be discussed in the next chapter with regard to the development of penflourishing in late twelfth-century England.

In the section on the development of the palmette form in the thirteenth century, the authors suggest that Parisian style was the most pervasive influence on

^{63.} *Ibid*, col. 1126 (..horizontally or vertically arranged vegetative hangings, which may be combined with anthropomorphic or zoomorphic forms, and reach all the way to the bottom margin).

^{64.} I thank Patricia Stirnemann for her help in identifying this differentiation in effect.

the decoration of books in the thirteenth century in France and Europe in general. They suggest that the palmette is the most important component of this *fleuronnée* style. The palmette is used to create a ‘carpet’ (*Teppich*) of stylized versions of the palmette form, suggesting leaves and vine tendrils.⁶⁵ The tendril strands are recognized as important conduits for *fleuronnée*, which join up to form secondary shapes of medallions, hearts and other shapes.⁶⁶ Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald argue that the influence of Bolognese decorative style is evident in Parisian book decoration with regard to the presence of what they define as *fleuronnée* rods, defined elsewhere as *prolongations à l’italienne*.⁶⁷ In the 1240s the authors suggest that the influence of Bolognese work further influenced the development of the *fleuronnée* rods, with the addition of compressed compartments of fishbone and other styles as well as the straightening of the rods, so that they no longer resembled the tendrils associated with the preforms of *fleuronnée* (Figure 1.22).

^{65.} *Ibid.* col. 1126.

^{66.} *Ibid.*

^{67.} *Ibid.* This element will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. See François Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset in *Manuscrits enluminés d’origine italienne, II, XIII siècle* (Paris: BNF, 1984), pp. 63-64. See also Stirnemann (1990), p. 62, and n. 3, p. 59.



Figure 1.22: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, cod. theol. lat. oct. 61, f. 2r.

Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald also associate the simplification of the palmette form, interpreted as abstraction by Květ, as an indication of the increased production of books in Paris. They relate the increase in production from c. 1230 specifically to the development of ‘pocket bibles’ (*Taschenbibeln*) in particular, as well as other books necessitated by the rise of the University in Paris.⁶⁸ The form of the palmettes and half-palmettes used to provide the infill of the initial is simplified in order to speed up the process of production. Although Květ interpreted the change in the palmette form as a drive toward abstraction, and as an aesthetic development, he also concluded that the pressure of production influenced the transformation of the acanthoid or palmette form. The application of small circles or pearls, in the lexicon

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, col. 1128.

of Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald's work, was used to provide a dense decorative background to the simplified forms of the palmette used to create the ground of the initials. The use of pearls in rows or chains increases dramatically as the century draws to a close. Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald identify this trend for the increased use of densely packed pearls or tiny rectangular shapes, sometimes augmented further with interior dots or 'kernels' to be the major change affecting the development of *fleuronnée* towards the end of the century.⁶⁹

The authors suggest that after the middle of the thirteenth century the ateliers of north-eastern France surpassed the Parisian book producers with regard to prestige and importance. They find that, along with ateliers in Flanders and the area of the Meuse, the book producers of north-eastern France provided the most pervasive influence for the stylistic developments in books made in German-speaking areas.⁷⁰ With regard to the development of *fleuronnée* in England in the second half of the century, the authors note that penflourishing has received very little scholarly attention. They observe that English flourishing is different in character from that on the Continent in that its forms are drawn with greater freedom (Figure 1.23). They also note Bolognese influence in the appearance of marginalia.⁷¹

^{69.} *Ibid*, col. 1130. (Die schaftbegleitenden Perlenreihen wurden mit Spiralfädchen, kreuzschraffierten Scheiben, Punktrosetten, kleinen Perlenpyramiden und -gruppen verziert...Zusammen mit einer zunehmend flüchtigen Malweise führte dies gg. E. 13. Jh. zur völligen Veränderung des charakteristischen Erscheinungsbildes von Palmetten-F).

^{70.} *Ibid*, col. 1130.

^{71.} *Ibid*, col. 1133.

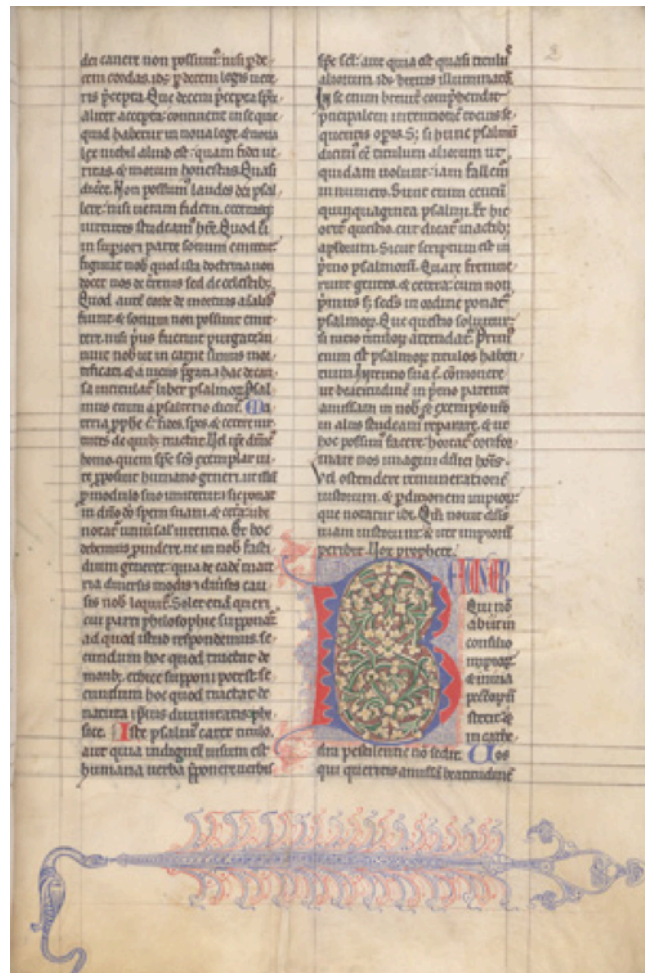


Figure 1.23: London, BL, Royal MS 3 C. v., f. 2r. (First quarter of thirteenth century, Robert Pullus, (also known as Robert Pullen) Commentary on Psalms 1-59)

This will be discussed in Chapter 2, with regard to the exact replication of Bolognese penflourished abstract forms in the circles of William de Brailes and the artists of the Rutland Psalter.

Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald make the assertion that English flourishing of the thirteenth century is consistently composed of blue ink for the letters and red ink for the flourishing that decorates them. They suggest that the finely and closely drawn lines of English *fleuronnée* must have led English flourishers to use red ink for the flourishes consistently. It is implied that this is because red ink would have been easier to use for such fine work. Whereas in Continental examples, the flourishing

and letters are applied in alternate blue with red flourishing and red with blue flourishing, in English work, the letters are consistently blue and the flourishing red.⁷² This does not seem to be the case for all English work. In the de Brailes corpus of work, both patterns of flourishing appear. In the Gonville and Caius Bible, an alternate pattern is observed whereby red and blue flourishing is used in turn (Figure 1.24).

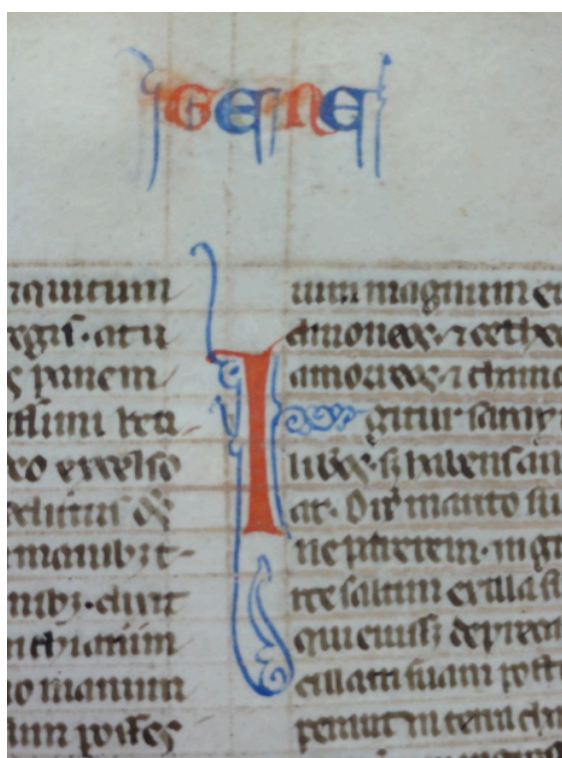


Figure 1.24: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 350/567, f. 7v.

The following example from the Stockholm Psalter demonstrates that perhaps red ink was favoured for more complex flourishing, but it also shows the use of blue, and the letters alternate in blue and gold, not only red.

⁷² *Ibid*, cols. 1133-1134. (Der von den Floratoren offenbar angestrebten feinen und sorgfältigen Zeichnung wegen bedienten sie sich oftmals roter Tinte. Ausschließlich in englischen Hss. konnte die alternierende Farbigkeit der Buchstabenkörper aufgegeben sein. Diese sind dann stets blau, bei hervorgehobenen Initialen mit aufgesetzten weißen Linien, die einen ausgesparten Steg vortäuschen sollen, während das F. rot ist. Dieser Verzicht auf Farbwechsel beim F. ermöglichte es den Floratoren, in der Zeichnung viele Linien dicht nebeneinander zu setzen).

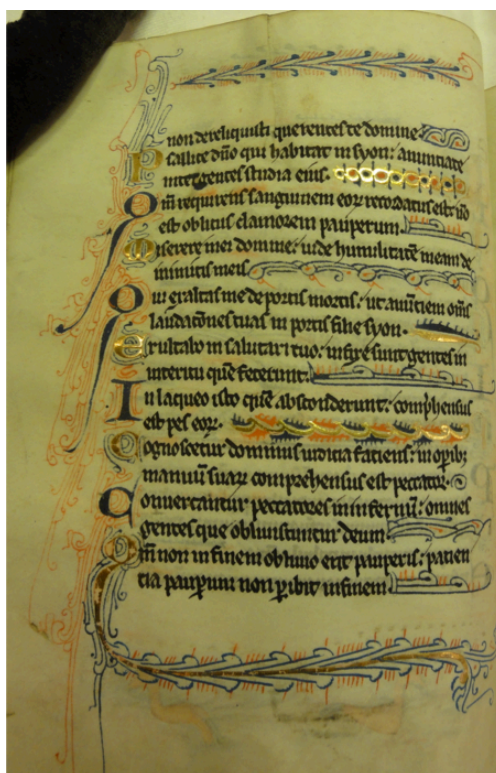


Figure 1.25: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 22v.

The authors suggest that the use of palmette *fleuronnée* in Italy developed from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and that its influence can be traced to Parisian models.⁷³ They identify different styles linked to various regions, in contrast to France and England. Perhaps this has to do with the fiercely independent self-identification of city-states in Italy. Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald note stylistic differences in the forms of palmettes for Padua, Genoa, Bologna, Rome, and Naples. Developments in Bologna are of greatest relevance to the genesis of flourishing in England.

The most significant and individual characteristic of Bolognese *fleuronnée* from the middle of the thirteenth century continues to be the use of *fleuronnée* rods that emerged from the late twelfth century. A new development are ‘lily-like

^{73.} *Ibid*, col. 1135.

blossoms' (*lilienähnliche Blüten*) which are used to punctuate the rods.⁷⁴ The authors also compare these forms to 'ears of corn' (*Getreideähren*). In the example below, the 'ears of corn' are seen in the centre of the diagonally slanting flourish (Figure 1.26). They evolve from an earlier Bolognese component developed in scribal decoration of legal manuscripts in the *bas de page*. Robert Gibbs has described the earlier form as 'heads of barley' and this terminology has been adopted in English writing about these forms.⁷⁵



Figure 1.26: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1415 (Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*), f. 164r.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, col. 1138.

⁷⁵ See Robert Gibbs, 'The Development of the Illustration of Legal Manuscripts by Bolognese Illuminators between 1250 and 1298', in *Juristische Buchproduktion im Mittelalter*, ed. by Vincenzo Colli (Frankfurt: V. Klostermann, 2002), pp. 178-218, (p. 180).

The authors also note the placement of fleuronée rods in between columns of text (Figure 1.27). These are associated with Bolognese books of the *prima maniera*, which develops from the middle of the thirteenth century. As opposed to the Proto-Bolognese style, which emphasized penflourished decoration to the folio, the *prima maniera*, which Gibbs refers to as the ‘Academic Manner’, is dominated by illuminated illustrations of the text.



Figure 1.27: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. th. b. 4, f. 182r. (Gregory IX, *Decretals*, with the apparatus of Bernard of Parma, Modena/Bologna, dated 1241)

Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald devote much less time to ‘bud fleuroneé’ which they define as fleuroneé that includes the bud form, an abstracted and smooth edged version of the palmette (Figure 1.28).



Figure 1.28: Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald (2003), cols. 1117-1118

This feature is not apparent in the flourishing that appears in the corpus of work associated with William de Brailes. In these works, produced between c.1240 and c.1260, the palmette form is still serrated at the edge (Figure 1.29).



Figure 1.29: Perth, Scotland, Perth Art Museum, MS 462, unfoliated (*Incipit for Leviticus*)

However 'buds' do appear in the contemporaneous work of the Sarum Master, in the Wilton Psalter, produced perhaps in Salisbury c. 1255-60, but the serrated form of the palmette is also present. The bud is in a transitional state in this example, and it seems to play a more important role in flourishing that develops after the reach of this study (Figure 1.30).



Figure 1.30: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 8r. (The Wilton Psalter)

While some eighty years separate the work of Květ and Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald, many of their conclusions with regard to the development of *fleuronnée* are consistent, even if their vocabularies are not. Both studies locate the beginning of late medieval flourishing to the letter in north-eastern France and Paris, and they observe the influence of Paris with regard to the style of decoration to the folio moving from Paris to other book producing centres in northern European countries. Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald place far greater emphasis on the role of Bolognese style, associated with legal books required for the study of law at the nascent universities of Bologna and elsewhere in northern Italy with regard to the development of the decoration of the folio. However, the development of *fleuronnée* forms themselves, the development of the palmette and its abstraction into the bud form, seem to be more closely associated with Parisian models. There seems to be mutual influence between the centres of Paris and Bologna, with the Parisian artisans copying the *prolongations à*

l'italienne, and the Bolognese imitating the development of *fleuronnée* decoration of the script itself.

England also follows both Paris and Bologna with regard to decorative style, but shows some resistance to outside influence as well. Some forms specifically associated with Parisian styles such as the 'wing' motif are not in evidence. Examples of Bolognese *prolongations à l'italienne* appear in English manuscripts from the beginning of the thirteenth century, especially in books associated with the study of the law, such as Gratian's *Decretum*. Their adoption by the makers of luxury books in Oxford should perhaps not be surprising with the close association of makers of books with varying patron requirements, and no doubt a variety of exemplars present from both Paris and Bologna. This pollination of styles will be addressed in the following chapters. Neither Květ nor Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald account for the fluid artisan societies of the late middle ages, with both scribes and artists moving between book producing centres, bringing their own knowledge and stylistic training with them, and learning new forms when they could. But even when this dynamic is acknowledged, the evidence from these studies indicates that regional styles were persistent and that there was a formality to the seemingly fluid linear embellishments to the folio, according to time and place.

Use and Meaning

Penwork flourishing evolved as a form used to assist the reader in negotiating the text. The placement of coloured initials directed the reader with regard to the beginning and ending of specific sections. Gradations of letter size and complexity indicated major or minor textual divisions. The association by the reader with a specific penflourished embellishment to a folio or passage may have assisted the

reader in the memorization of that text, but there is no evidence for the mnemonic value of abstract design in a medieval context. The function of pictorial components, whether in the large form of the prefatory miniature or the minutiae of a historiated initial in a portable Bible, beyond finding one's place, aided the reader in the understanding and remembrance of the text, regardless of genre. The genesis of Italian *bas de page* flourishing will be discussed in the next chapter, but it is important to note here that the abstract linear flourish does not imply meaning as part of its original function. It soon moves beyond directional signposting, and develops an aesthetic presence on its own terms. The persistent presence of flourishing and its dynamic stylistic development, as has been discussed in the works of Květ, Scott-Fleming, Stirnemann and Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald, reveals the consistent aesthetic function of the flourish. It is a form that gave visual, non-intellectual pleasure to the reader of the book, and in this way it contrasts with its frequent companion, the historiated initial. Although the penflourished initial's primary function was to help the reader identify where something was in the text, it may also have helped him to remember the meaning of the passage. Heuristic functionality of the flourish was however, not its primary intention, but a secondary result. Even in the context of a prescribed medieval methodology for memorizing sacred texts, such as that suggested by Hugh of Saint Victor, the function of the flourish seems outside the realm of the practice of the art of memory.⁷⁶ Hugh advises the monastic reader to break up a text into small components. This is based on Hugh's understanding of the limits of the human mind with regard to the storage of information. Small chunks of

⁷⁶ See Hugh of Saint Victor, 'De modo dicendi et meditandi', *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Garnier, 1865), 176.878. Mary Carruthers examines Hugh of Saint Victor's methodology with regard to memory at length in *The Craft of Thought, Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 62-66.

information can be stored, while long passages over-run the limits of *memoria*. The longer text must therefore be assembled into smaller parts. Mary Carruthers defines the scope of these small parts as what we would now refer to as short-term memory.⁷⁷ Hugh calls it the *conspectus*, or what can be perceived in a ‘single glance’ of the eye.⁷⁸ The small parts can then be mentally reassembled, or collected, and then contemplated. Hugh explains the purpose of this methodology in the following passage:

Colligere est ea de quibus prolixius vel scriptum vel disputatum est ad brevem quamdam et compendiosam summam redigere; quae a maioribus epilogus, id est brevis recapitulatio supradictorum, appellata est. Memoria enim brevitate gaudet, et si in multa dividitur fit minor in singulis. Debemus ergo in omni studio vel doctrina breve aliquid et certum colligere, quod in arcula memoriae recondatur, unde postmodum cum res exigit aliqua deriventur.⁷⁹

(‘To collect’ is to reduce those things which are written or spoken about at greater length to a brief and commodious summary; of the sort which is called by ancient authorities an epilogue, a brief recapitulation of the matters spoken about earlier. For indeed human memory delights in brevity, and if something is divided into many pieces it will seem shorter [taken] one piece at a time than it would as a single whole. We should therefore from every study or lesson gather up things brief and secure, which we may hide away in a little chest of our memory, from which later they may be drawn when any subject has need.)⁸⁰

The intricacies of the flourish seem contradictory to the procedure of this methodology, which aims to streamline the practice of memory. It could be argued that the application of the flourish could be used as a prompt by which to separate out portions of the text that are of appropriate length for the memorization process. However, the constancy of flourishing, as well as its consistency in placement and

⁷⁷. See Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 63.

⁷⁸. *Ibid.*

⁷⁹. Hugh of Saint Victor as cited by Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 64.

⁸⁰. This is Carruthers’ translation, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 64.

form, does not seem to support the application of Hugh of Saint Victor's suggested methodology. Historiated initials or series of vesicas delineating the parts of a liturgical passage seem more applicable to Hugh's *praxis*.

Carruthers also discusses Augustine's comments on the process of *summatim*, in which all the memorised parts of a text can be reviewed mentally, and those most worthy of contemplation can be selected for deeper thought.

Non tamen propterea debemus totum pentateuchem, totosque iudicum et renum [sic] et Esdrae libros, totumque evangelium et actus apostolorum, vel, si ad verbum edidicimus, memoriter reddere, vel nostris verbis Omnia quae his voluminibus continentur narrando evolvere et explicare; quod nec tempus capit nec ulla necessitas postulat: sed cuncta summatim generatimque complecti, ita ut eligantur quaedam mirabiliora, quae suavius audiuntur atque in ipsis articulis constituta sunt, et ea tamquam in involucris ostendere statimque a conspectu abripere non oportet, sed aliquantum immorando quasi resolvere atque expandere, et inspicienda atque miranda offerre animis auditorum: cetera vero celeri percursione inserendo contexere.⁸¹

(But, even if we have memorized the words [*ad verbum*], [when we teach] we should not either just recite by rote the whole Pentateuch, and the entire Books of Judges, Kings and Esdras, and the whole of the Gospels and Acts, or, by retelling in our own words, disclose and explicate everything contained in these volumes, for neither does time allow it nor does any necessity require it: but having grasped them all as a whole in summary [*summatim*] and essential terms, we can select things as [being] more worthy to be examined closely, which may be listened to and set forth more agreeably just as they were written; and likewise, it is not right to show such a thing [still] in its wrappings and then immediately remove it from view, but dwelling on it a piece at a time as though to loosen up and expand it, [one should] offer it for inspection and wonder [*miranda*] by the minds of the audience: the other matters in these books can be connected up by a cursory run-through.)⁸²

This selection process by which crucial components of the narrative are identified for

⁸¹ Augustine, *De catechizandi rudibus* III.5(2).3-15, Corpus christianorum, series latina < <http://www.corpuschristianorum.org/series/ccsl.html> >.

⁸² Carruthers' translation, *The Book of Memory*, pp. 64-65.

further contemplation seems echoed by the scenes selected for historiated initials or inclusion in vertical series of vesicas. It seems that the representation of a concrete, as opposed to an abstract visual cue, might be more useful with regard to the creation of both the division of a large text into smaller portions, and the selection of some of those smaller parts for further contemplation. This process would be expedited by the use of a concrete figure, or tableau, as opposed to the complex yet familiar structure of the filigree initial or the penflourished *bas de page*.

Although Carruthers' work on the relation of memory to *mise-en-page* does not include a discussion of penflourishing, she does suggest a linguistic link for the practice of using flourished or painted tendrils in the decorative context of the book. Carruthers argues that the margins of books were spaces that were often decorated according to mnemonic methodology.⁸³ In Carruthers' discussion of *etymologica*, the practice of extracting the origin of a word from its contemporary meaning in the service of mnemonic function, she suggests that 'The ubiquitous leaves and branches used as decorative patterns in manuscripts can express the commonplace etymology of Latin *liber* (book) from *liber* (tree bark)'.⁸⁴ Carruthers does not claim this visual etymological pun as a universal source for marginal penwork tendrils, but suggests that while the pun was forgotten, its visual manifestation survived. James Robinson remarks in the British Library exhibition catalogue, *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, that the description of Christ as 'the true vine' from St John's Gospel (15:1), may explain the presence of vine tendrils on sacred objects associated with the Eucharist.⁸⁵ In a Chrismatory from the late eighth

⁸³. See Carruthers, p. 116-70.

⁸⁴. Carruthers, p. 160.

⁸⁵. See James Robinson, 'From Altar to Amulet: Relics, Portability and Devotion', *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, eds. Martina Bagnoli, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann and James Robinson (London: British Museum Press, 2011), pp. 111-33. See especially

century, the four Evangelists are depicted on the side panels of the box each with an open book. One of them, which Robinson identifies as John, has a more ornate halo, and displays the Word. The image of Christ resurrected appears on the lid of the box. He stands among twisting vine tendrils. On the reverse of the box, is a chalice spouting vine tendrils with two deer on either side. On the opposite side of the roof-like lid, the vine appears alone. Robinson concludes that the vine tendrils emphasise the association of the Chrismatory with the Eucharist. In this example, it is possible to identify another source for the twisting tendrils of penflourished manuscripts. The *topos* of the meandering foliate frame for the sacred word in liturgical manuscript decoration may be similarly related to the metaphor of Christ as the ‘true vine’ whose fruits bear the promise of salvation and eternal life.⁸⁶

Cynthia Hahn finds that twelfth-century aesthetic theorists are undecided with regard to the value of art for spiritual contemplation.⁸⁷ Thomas Aquinas, for example, was unconvinced of the role of beautiful objects in contemplation. Umberto Eco writes that Aquinas found that ‘human productions (i.e. art) are beautiful only in a superficial sense; their aesthetic value is deficient.’⁸⁸ Others, such as Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, clearly disagreed with this evaluation of the power of art to engage spiritual experience. While the value of contemplation as applied to major illumination in twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts, as well as perhaps to the complex filigree patterns contained in decorated letters, may be adduced, contemplative function as applied to aesthetic theory seems an overambitious

Robinson’s description of no. 56, Chrismatory, pp. 118-19.

^{86.} John 15:1, I am the true vine, and my father is the husbandman. (Revised Standard Edition, as used for exhibition catalogue)

^{87.} See Cynthia Hahn, ‘The Spectacle of the Charismatic Body, Patrons, Artists and Body-Part Reliquaries’, in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, (2011), pp. 163-72.

^{88.} *Ibid*, p. 170.

explanation for penflourishing. The case for figurative marginalia is very different.

Carruthers suggests that after the middle of the thirteenth century visual puns served as the most popular marginal device that was particularly favoured in England.⁸⁹ The severed limbs that are scattered through the borders of the Rutland Psalter are explained as puns on the French *limbes* that can carry the meanings of both “limbs” and “border”, and the English *limes* (limbs).⁹⁰ Carruthers refers to the work of Laura Kendrick who argues that the Anglo-Norman word ‘*bo(u)rdure*’, translated as ‘border’ puns on the noun *bo(u)rde*, a play or jest.⁹¹ The verbal pun suggests the visual joke, whereby images or tableaux of games or musical instruments appear in the border or margin of the folio. Kendrick also notes that punning on the verb *bo(u)rden*, to tilt or joust, may explain some of the many scenes of tilting or jousting found in marginal art.⁹²

The absence of figurative elements in much of thirteenth-century penwork removes this element of its interpretation. In its nature abstract, penwork does not specifically aid the reader in terms of memory with the presentation of a figure or tableau. Its overt purpose is to alert the reader to textual divisions and to guide the reader through these signs in navigation of the text. Its secondary purpose is to embellish the folio, and thereby the reader’s experience by adding a further aesthetic dimension to the use of the book. Both of these elements are essential to the role of penwork in the development of commercial book production. If the purpose of the

⁸⁹ See Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). See especially where Carruthers argues ‘The greatest variety of visual punning is found in the margins of devotional books made after the middle of the thirteenth-century, a custom that began in England and continued especially among owners who had some English connections’, p. 161.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁹¹ See Laura Kendrick, ‘Les “bords” des Contes de Cantorbéry et des manuscrits enluminés de l’époque gothique’, *Bulletin des Anglicistes Médiévistes* 46 (1994), pp. 926-43, as cited by Carruthers (1998), p. 162.

⁹² *Ibid.*

penflourish as an aesthetic component of *mise-en-page* is accepted, the socio-cultural ramifications of that aesthetic cannot be ignored. Beyond the enhancement of the aesthetic experience for the user of the flourished book, the ability of the patron to impress others with his or her decorated book must not be underestimated. Penwork comes, perhaps, with an association of cost, of devotional ardour and of the ability to impress or influence those within the cultural envelope of the book. This is, therefore, an important component in the fuel of thirteenth-century book production that had responded to societal demand for books to accommodate growing intellectual and spiritual interests and aspirations. The shift in use for books, from the largely monastic context of the twelfth century, impacted not only in size and portability, but also in the design of the folio itself to appeal to a new group of emerging lay readers.

Camille's comments on the shift from books produced largely for listening in a monastic context, wherein the letter could withstand extensive contortion because its legibility was not its primary function, to books produced for individuals who needed to be able to read the text themselves, thereby moving distortion to the margin, has implications for the development of flourished aesthetic. This shift in use, from a largely auditory and communal experience to a more private, individual one, impelled a change in *mise-en-page* according to Camille. He argues that the move from the *meditatio* of the monastic text to the *ordinatio* of the commercially produced text was the essential cause of the shift in *mise-en-page* in the thirteenth century. Camille concludes that by the end of the twelfth century that increasing literacy developing in tandem with devotional and bureaucratic demands resulted in the new *mise-en-page* of the thirteenth century. He writes:

No longer forming the letter, representations either enter its frame to form what is known as the historiated or pictured initial common in Gothic manuscripts, or they are exiled into the unruly space of the margins, the traditional site of the gloss.⁹³

Camille argues that the margin becomes a ‘stage’ for ‘not only supplementation and annotation but for disagreement and juxtaposition- what the scholastics called *disputatio*’.⁹⁴

While Camille suggests a shift from *meditatio* to *ordinatio* with regard to the process undertaken by the thirteenth-century reader, Paul Binski identifies a cognitive element that is common to both processes, and one that I would argue is a consistent component of illuminated manuscripts of the later Middle Ages.⁹⁵ The process that interests Binski is *admiratio*, a Horatian category. Binski identifies *admiratio* as a process Horace describes as being applicable to both poetry and painting: ‘A poem is like a painting, the closer you stand to this one the more it will impress you, whereas you have to stand a good distance from that one.’⁹⁶ Binski suggests that *admiratio* is the process of ‘standing back in wonder’.⁹⁷ Binski’s emphasis on this element is in direct contrast to the readerly dynamic proposed by Carruthers. With regard to abstract penwork, Binski’s distinction is an important one, not as a contradiction of Carruthers’ process, but as another way of reading or experiencing the folio. The process of *admiratio* can be seen in the early medieval *mise-en-page* and I will argue that it is a consistent and anticipated aspect of the relation between the reader and the folio with regard to the expectations of the

⁹³. Camille (1992), p. 20.

⁹⁴. *Ibid*, p. 21.

⁹⁵. See Paul Binski, ‘Paris, London, Rome circa 1300’, *From Minor to Major: The Minor Medieval Arts in Art History*, ed. by Colum Hourihane (Penn: PennState Press, 2012), pp. 3-21.

⁹⁶. See Binski, p. 4.

⁹⁷. *Ibid*.

producers of the illuminated book.

Binski uses this well-known passage by Giraldus Cambrensis to demonstrate the process of *admiratio* in a medieval context. Giraldus describes firstly his admiration for the artistry of the folio and secondly his intellectual and spiritual engagement with its contemplation:

Quas si superficialiter et usuali more minus acute conspexeris, litura potius videbitur quam ligature; nec ullam prorsus attendes subtilitatem, ubi nihil tamen praeter subtilitatem. Sin autem ad perspicacius intuendum oculorum aciem invitaveris, et longe penitius ad artis arcana transpenetraveris, tam delicatas et subtiles, tam arctas et artitas, tam nodosas et vinculatim colligatas, tamque recentibus adhuc coloribus illustratas notare poteris intricaturas, ut vere haec omnia potius angelica quam humana diligentia iam asseveraveris esse composita. [Haec equidem quanto frequentius et diligentius intueor, semper quasi novis obstuqueo, semper magis ac magis admiranda conspicio].

(Look at (the forms in this book) superficially with an ordinary casual glance, and you would think it is an erasure, and not tracery. Fine craftsmanship is all about you, but you might not notice it. Look more keenly at it and you will penetrate to the very shrine of art. You will make out intricacies so delicate and subtle, so exact and compact, so full of knots and links, with colours so fresh and vivid, that you might say that all this was the work of an angel and not of a man. For my part, the oftener I see the book, and the more carefully I study it, the more I am lost in ever fresh amazement, and I see more and more wonders in the book.)⁹⁸

Carruthers interprets this passage as an explication of the monastic practice of ‘reading’, which she argues is a ‘rhetorical practice.’⁹⁹ She argues that in this act of ‘reading’ the page, the reader engages in an act of *memoria*, whereby the *mise-en-page* promotes ‘image-making in the reader’.¹⁰⁰ In this paradigm of interaction between the ‘reader’ and the medieval page, the ‘reader’ is prompted to both

⁹⁸. This is Mary Carruthers’ translation. See Carruthers (1995), p. 255.

⁹⁹. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰. *Ibid.*

remember the passage and to create his own mental images to enhance the storage ‘cell’ of the passage.¹⁰¹ The page is thereby truly illuminated in that its contents are not only remembered by the reader but also emblazoned by the light of intellectual and spiritual understanding.

Binski’s reading of Giraldus’ response diverges from Carruthers’ in that he finds that the fine penwork of the page makes the page memorable in itself. In Binski’s view, the page evokes a sense of wonder in the viewer. Any heuristic function is secondary for Giraldus. Indeed, Giraldus tells us only that the book is a concordance of the Four Gospels according to Saint Jerome. He describes drawings on almost every page with many varying ‘mystical’ representations of the Evangelists. The illustrative programme in this book has succeeded in producing a sense of wonder in Giraldus, but he does not describe enhanced understanding of the text. His response is to the miraculous intricacies of the decorative programme itself. In the next chapter, Giraldus relates the story associated with the composition of the book. The work was executed by a scribe, assisted by an angel, who held a tablet of images in his hand for the scribe to reproduce miraculously. The angel instructs the scribe to solicit the prayers of ‘his Lady’, Saint Bridget, to enable him to reproduce the heavenly-produced design. Binski identifies this response as Horatian in character in that the artistry of the page produces a sense of wonder or *admiratio* in the viewer. With regard to the penwork, Binski’s view comes closest to identifying

¹⁰¹. See Carruthers’ discussion of the medieval use of ‘*celle*’ in relation to memory in *The Book of Memory* (1990), pp. 16-45. See especially p. 35 where Carruthers discusses *cella* as used by Geoffrey de Vinsauf for memory, and Chaucer’s Monk who boasts he has a large repertoire of tragedies which he could relate ‘*Of whiche I have an hundred in my celle*’. See ‘The Prologue of the Monk’s Tale’, in *The Canterbury Tales, the Riverside Chaucer* 3rd ed, ed. Larry D. Benson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 241. Carruthers suggests that the Monk refers to his mental memory cell, as opposed to his monastic accommodation. The last sentence in the Latin text in brackets is my addition. It is omitted in Carruthers’ Latin text but included in her English translation. I have added it for clarity from *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, ed. by John Sherren Brewer (London: Longman and Company, 1867) v. 5, *Topographica Hiberica, Distinctio II, Cap. XXXVIII*, pp. 123-24.

the purpose of this type of book art. This association of penwork with *admiratio* that enhances the aesthetic experience of the viewer is the catalyst for the development of this form in the thirteenth century. The aesthetic importance of penflourishing is evident in its development as a specialist genre by the end of the fourteenth century.

The popularity of penflourishing with patrons is clear from the proliferation of the form in diverse manuscripts from the late twelfth through the fifteenth century. Penflourishing that appears in the margins of manuscripts, as well as flourishing which clings to script, appears in a wide variety of liturgical and secular manuscripts, particularly Bibles, Psalters and Apocalypses that were owned by individuals as opposed to communities. Although there is evidence of payment for flourishing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, most etymological evidence for penflourishing in English begins in the fourteenth century. The *OED* notes that early use of the verbal form of the word ‘flourish’ carried the meaning ‘to illuminate, to adorn with colour or decorative designs of any kind’.¹⁰² Fourteenth-century use of the word is also linked to flowering and growth especially with reference to vines. The *OED* cites examples from the *Cursor Mundi* (c.1300) ‘þar florist ane [wand] als 3e haue herd’, Chaucer’s *Parson’s Tale* (c.1386) ‘To smell sote savour of the vynne whan it florisseth’ and from *Handlyng Synne* (c.1303) ‘Here vynys florshede feyre and well’. The association between the curling tendrils of the vegetal form and the penflourished marginal embellishment is clear in these examples.

The use of the word flourish in English to denote decorative elements of books is not found until the fifteenth century. The *OED* cites the *Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum, lexicon Anglo-Latinum princeps* (c. 1440) for use of the

¹⁰² See the *OED* entry at < <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/71977?rskey=v7YJMx&result=2#eid> >.

adjectival form in the description of ‘floryschen bokys’, and a later use in *Art of Limning* (1553) where it is advised that ‘With this (turnesoll) you may flourishe redde letters, or vestures.’ The classical *etymologica* examined by Carruthers of *liber* (book) from *liber* (tree bark) is echoed here in the association of flourishing with both decorative art and organic forms.

By the end of the fourteenth century, flourishing is described as an occupation. The *OED* cites its use to describe decorators of books: ‘Faire florischers and histeres of words and of metre’.¹⁰³ The establishment of flourishing as an occupation is in accord with the prevalence of flourished borders that develops throughout the thirteenth century in both English and Continental productions. Scott-Fleming finds evidence of payment for penflourishing from the fourteenth century. ‘*Littere florante*’ are priced at ‘twenty-five to the *denier tournois*’ in reference to work executed for a *Liber Floridus*.¹⁰⁴ She also cites accounts for 1338, where prices are quoted for the payment of Master Andreas de Bennays for his ‘flourishing’.¹⁰⁵ Master Andreas is paid, ‘*pro litteris floritis. Precio ix sol. Pro centario quolibet.*’¹⁰⁶ Ian Doyle argues that by the end of the fourteenth century, penflourishing was not only a separate and defined skill, but also one that was especially developed by English scribes.¹⁰⁷ Doyle goes as far as to suggest that the work of English flourishers is readily recognizable in the fifteenth century, and that although this form of flourishing follows a conventional construction and layout, it was specialist enough to necessitate separate commission ‘before the binding of the quires, by a purchaser,

^{103.} *Ibid.* This example is from John de Trevisa’s 1387 translation of Ranulf Higden’s *Polychronicon* (*Rolls Series*, Book 1, p. 7)

^{104.} See Scott-Fleming, p.3.

^{105.} *Ibid.*

^{106.} *Ibid.*

^{107.} See A. I. Doyle, ‘The English Provincial Book Trade Before Printing’, *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade in Britain*, ed. by P. Isaac (Winchester: Oak Knoll, 1990), pp. 13-29.

bookseller or donor'.¹⁰⁸ Doyle concludes that the personal association between the owner of the book and the flourishing is evident by the appearance of bespoke flourishing in both English and Continental printed books.

It is unclear whether flourishing was always maintained as a separate skill, or whether this art developed organically from scribal activity. Scott-Fleming suggests that flourishing could have been executed initially by scribes, and evidence from twelfth-century Bologna that will be discussed in the following chapter seems to confirm this. John Friedman argues that the traditionally separate arrangement for payment for flourishing suggests that flourishing was a distinctly separate skill from scribal copying, executed by different craftsmen.¹⁰⁹ Friedman notes examples of both instances however, where there is evidence of payment to one individual for both the writing and the ornamentation of a book, and where there is separate payment for the scribe and the flourisher. As an example of the scribe as the sole maker of a book, Friedman cites Cologne, Diocezanbibliothek MS I B, dated 1289, where the scribe, Johannes de Valkenburg claims credit for the entire commission, '*ego frater Johannes de Valkenburg scripsi et notavi et illuminavi istud graduale*'.¹¹⁰ Also cited by Friedman is Henry Stephen of Westphalia who wrote the Alba Missal of 1377. His colophon reads: '*finitus est iste liber per manus Heinrici dicti Stephani de Westfalia...cum scriptura, illuminatura, ligatura*'.¹¹¹ Friedman also presents evidence for the use of separate artisans for scribal and decorative features of the book. In Vatican City, MS BAV 6443 (c. 1338-1342), there is evidence for separate payment

^{108.} *Ibid.*, p. 68.

^{109.} J. Friedman, *Northern Books, Owners, and their Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995), p. 210.

^{110.} See Friedman, p. 210.

^{111.} *Ibid.*

for writing and decoration. The colophon reads ‘*solvi pro scriptura VII lib, VIIs ...item pro illuminando XIXs. videlicet pro VIIIc litteris parvis et LIV litteris partitas.*’¹¹²

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, flourishing has evolved into a securely specialist art form. In his 1993 article for *Gesta*, Allen S. Farber quotes Christine de Pizan’s discussion of a contemporary female artist in early fifteenth-century Paris:

Regarding what you say about women expert in the art of painting, I know a woman today, named Anastasia, who is so learned and skilled in painting manuscript borders and miniature backgrounds that one cannot find an artisan in all the city of Paris- where the best in the world are found- who can surpass her, nor who can paint flowers and details as delicately as she does, nor whose work is more highly esteemed, no matter how rich or precious the book is. People cannot stop talking about her. And I know this from experience, for she has executed several things for me which stand out among the ornamental borders of the great masters.¹¹³

(Cependant, à propos de femmes douées pour la peinture, je connais moi-même une certaine Anastasie dont le talent pour les encadrements et bordures d’enluminures et les paysages des miniatures est si grand que l’on ne saurait citer dans la ville de Paris, où vivent pourtant les meilleurs artistes du monde, un seul qui la surpasse. Personne ne fait mieux qu’elle les motifs floraux et décoratifs des livres, et l’on estime tant son travail qu’on lui confie la finition des ouvrages les plus riches et les plus fastueux. Je le sais par expérience, car elle a peint pour moi certaines bordures qui sont, de l’avis unanime, d’une beauté sans commune mesure avec celles exécutées par les autres grands maîtres.)¹¹⁴

Christine is responding in this passage from *Cité des Dames* (I.41.4) to the allegorical figure of *Raison* who has discussed female artists from the classical world. Anastasia is cited as an example of a contemporary female artisan who is their

^{112.} *Ibid.*

^{113.} Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards (New York: Persea Books, 1982), p. 85. See Allen S. Farber’s use of this quotation in ‘Considering a Marginal Master: The Work of an Early Fifteenth-Century, Parisian Manuscript Decorator’, *Gesta*, 32.1 (1993), 21-39, (p. 21).

^{114.} Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*, trans. by Eric Hicks and Thérèse Moreau (Paris: Editions Stock, 1986), p. 113.

equal. While Christine's stance in this work can perhaps be defined as proto-feminist, what is important to our discussion of penflourishing is the documentation of its existence as a separate skill that has high status in the eyes of patrons and artists. As Farber notes, the separate status of secondary decoration informs our understanding of book production in fifteenth-century Paris. Some evidence has emerged from the thirteenth century that attests to the involvement of women specifically in the book trade. City records from both Oxford and Paris record the passing of commercial premises belonging to members of the book trade from husband to wife.¹¹⁵ Proximity alone suggests female involvement in the continuity of the trade in these circumstances. The purpose of the flourishing as expressed by Christine is purely aesthetic. Any heuristic function of this form appears to have been subsumed by the beauty of the executed design. Christine's admiration or *admiratio* of the work of Anastasia seems close to Giraldus' response to the Irish book- the biggest difference being that Giraldus wonders if the intricacies of the page are attributable to an angel, while Christine knows and names her artist as a woman.

The groundwork laid by Květ with regard to the recognition of *fleuronnée* penwork as a distinct art form with a recognizable stylistic progression encouraged the analysis of the form by later critics. Micro-analysis of flourishing by Scott-Fleming and Stirnemann, following the approach of Hülsmann, suggested that flourishing was an attribute that could be used to aid in identifying origin and date for manuscripts. This precept is behind the pan-European study of penflourishing accomplished by Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald. The appearance of specific forms, and their stylistic interpretations across Europe from the twelfth through to the

¹¹⁵. For Oxford see H.G. Pollard, *Notes for a Directory of Cat Street* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984), pp. 3-42 and for Paris see Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Production in Medieval Paris 1200-1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000) pp. 17-49 (34-36).

nineteenth century demonstrates robust analytical use of the flourish as a form that informs both art historical and paleographical investigation.

Semiotic analysis of marginalia and its implications for the act of reading in a late medieval context has suggested a role for flourished embellishment beyond its functional purpose. The aesthetic experience provoked by the flourished letter is an important component of the function of the embellishment. The progression of flourishing from perhaps scribal beginnings to a specialized art form, recognized by the appearance of specific contractual arrangements by the fourteenth century, registers the status of the art of flourishing in the context of late medieval book design.

In the next chapter, the components of penflourishes in twelfth century examples in Italy, France and England will be examined in a micro-analytic way but the purpose of the analysis will have a broader stylistic interest. The progression of forms most particularly from northern Italy to France and England will be examined not only in relation to their specific components but also as to what the effect of these composite forms are on *mise-en-page* in the thirteenth-century book. The progression of the flourish and the expansion of its presence during the thirteenth century is an inextricable part of the history of the book. The expansion of the flourish in a form that begins in twelfth-century Bologna has significant and long reaching influence on the design of the medieval book.

Chapter 2

The Development of Penflourishing from c. 1180

During the twelfth century two major trends emerge in the development of penflourishing. The first appears in Paris and northern France in the form of filigree puzzle initials c. 1140.¹¹⁶ This trend, which is strongly associated with the schools of northern France and Paris, appears initially in glossed biblical texts. The initials are used to assist the readers in negotiating the text, but also to embellish it in an aesthetic way. The second, slightly later trend develops from Bologna and other northern Italian centres associated with the nascent universities, particularly with books produced for legal studies in the last quarter of the twelfth century. This is *jeux de plume* flourishing which appears in the lower margin (*bas de page*) of legal texts. The purpose of this largely *bas de page* placed embellishment is not utilitarian. It does not direct the reader but simply serves as a way to enliven the visual experience. It may have assisted with the process of memorizing the legal texts, as mnemonic mastery of the texts was an essential element of medieval legal training.¹¹⁷ While both the use of filigree puzzle initials and *jeux de plume* flourishing are significant

¹¹⁶ See Patricia Danz Stirnemann, 'Fils de la vierge: l'initiale à filigranes parisienne 1140-1314', *Revue de l'art* (1990), 58-73. I have followed Robert Gibbs with the use of 'filigree' in English as opposed to '*filigrane*' or '*filigrana*' to describe the delicate web of lines that fill the inside of decorated initials of this type. See Robert Gibbs, 'The Development of the Illustration of Legal Manuscripts by Bolognese Illuminators between 1241 and 1298' in *Juristische Buchproduktion im Mittelalter*, ed. by Vincenzo Coli (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 2002), pp. 172-218. Filigree initials are sometimes referred to in English as 'watermarked initials'. I have avoided the use of this term as it can be confusing with regard to the term 'watermarks' used to denote designs, often monograms, impressed on cotton or linen rag paper by means of a wire device incorporated into the paper frame. The watermark indicated the identity of the manufacturer of the paper. See Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1994), pp. 93-94.

¹¹⁷ See Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). See particularly Chapter 3, 'Cognitive Images, Meditation and Ornament', pp. 116-70, for a discussion of the use of images in the aid of memory.

contributing elements to the look of the book in thirteenth-century England, the Italian *jeux de plume* style is particularly important with regard to the development of the decorative techniques used for high status manuscripts produced in Oxford in the middle of the thirteenth century.

In this chapter, these stylistic precedents for the development of penflourishing in English thirteenth-century manuscripts will be discussed. Late twelfth and early thirteenth-century English manuscripts will be examined for evidence of an ‘Early English’ style of flourished embellishment. The association of pen sprays and grotesques that appear in the *bas de page* of Bolognese manuscripts from the last decades of the twelfth century are especially important to the development of flourishing style in England, yet their infiltration into English style is not concurrent with their development in Bologna. English flourishing is slower to react to Continental influence, maintaining a distinctively English style into the first few decades of the thirteenth century. Examples of *jeux de plume* style in English manuscripts do appear, but their presence is not a consistent theme. The penwork elements that will be discussed in this chapter neither simultaneously originate in a specific time and place nor disappear from use at a fixed point in time. Stylistic trends ebb and flow in accordance with a complex network of influences encompassing the inclinations of patrons, the intended use of the book, and the elusive presence of artistic influence in the place where the book is produced, whether this is a monastic, commercial or private setting.

Albert Derolez describes the decoration of minor initials as a simple process through to the middle of the twelfth century, except for the Insular and Anglo-Saxon practice of zoomorphic embellishment of even minor initials. He finds that decorative additions to minor initials are composed of globular or foliate extensions

from the initials.¹¹⁸ This seems to have been consistent in northern Europe.¹¹⁹ The Hunterian Psalter (Glasgow, University of Glasgow Special Collections, MS Hunter U. 3. 7 (229)) (Figure 2.1) demonstrates the concentration of decorative effects to the interior space of the initial even in the context of a highly illuminated text.

Produced in England c. 1170, the Hunterian Psalter is elaborately illuminated in the height of Romanesque style. Although the text of the Psalter includes historiated or decorated initials for each of the major Psalm divisions, as well as decorated initials for the incipit of each Psalm, the text itself is unembellished by flourishing.



Figure 2.1: Glasgow, University of Glasgow Special Collections, MS Hunter U. 3. 7 (229), f. 75r.¹²⁰
The Hunterian Psalter, Psalm 13

¹¹⁸ See Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 40-2.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ For the Hunterian Psalter see <<http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/psalter/psalterindex.html>>.

Many of the penwork techniques that will be developed in penflourishing in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries are already present within the vocabulary of twelfth-century initials in both fully illuminated and ink initials. The use of grotesques, penwork scrolls, and intricate patterning of lines is found in the incipit letters of a wide variety of Romanesque texts. The techniques at work in the incipit letter 'P' (*Paulus*) from Oxford, Christ Church MS 95 (Pauline Epistles) (Figure 2.2), an early twelfth-century English manuscript, demonstrate a diverse vocabulary of penwork technique, but the devices are contained within the initial, they do not expand into the margin.¹²¹ Intricate rows of dots, twisting acanthus leaves, Insular interlace devices and spouting grotesques, all form part of the penwork vocabulary that will be used in the flourishing that develops beyond the confines of the initial as the Gothic style emerges. These decorative techniques are already present within the confines of the Romanesque letter. It is the expansion of these decorative forms in the realm of the margin that marks a strong change in *mise-en-page* as the thirteenth century proceeds.

¹²¹. Thomas Sherrer Ross Boase, *English Art 1110-1216* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1953), pp. 99-100. See also <www.chch.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/MS%20105.pdf>.

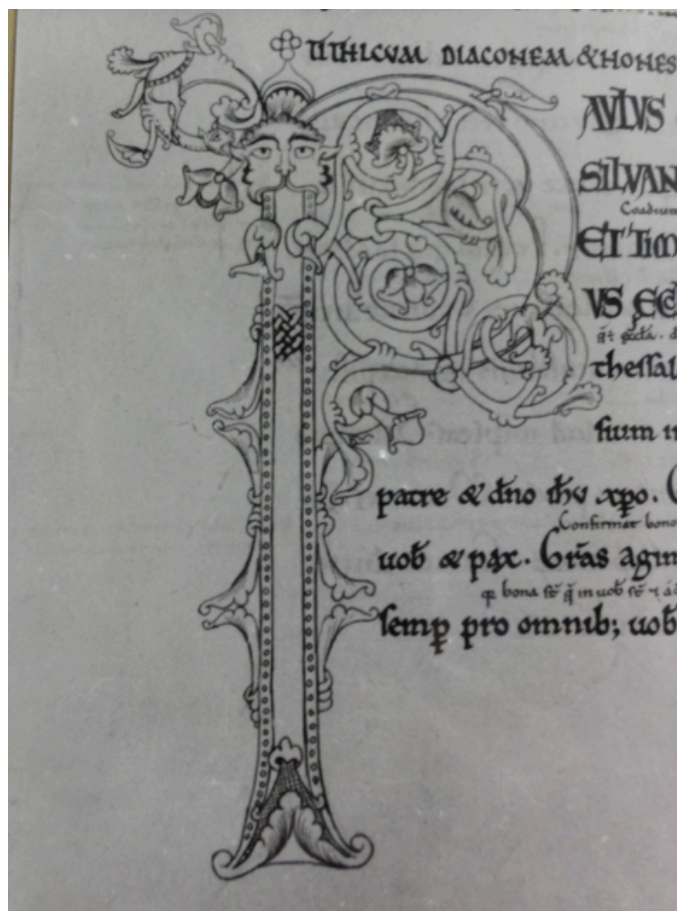


Figure 2.2: Oxford, Christ Church, MS 95, (Pauline Epistles, glossed), f. 1r.

The hierarchy of decorative work implies that the lead artists on a major production were employed to organize minor initial decoration.¹²² The lead artists might have overseen the production and the design of the decorative layout of the entire work, but lesser artists or scribes themselves most often decorated the secondary initials. It is with minor initials that penwork flourishing is first associated. Flourishing can be observed emerging from minor initials from the second quarter of the twelfth century, and there are many developments in the decoration of minor initials from the 1140s onwards. François Avril and Patricia Stirnemann identify the beginnings of ‘*initiale puzzle à filigrane*’ from c. 1140 in northern France (Figure

¹²² See Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 49.

2.3)¹²³ and the *champ* initial from the last quarter of the century (Figure 2.4).¹²⁴



Figure 2.3: Perth, Scotland, Perth Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, unfoliated. Attributed to the circle of William de Brailes, Oxford, c. 1260

Filigree puzzle initials are a continuation of a trend that occurred in the beginning of the twelfth century to fill in the blank spaces created by the shape of the letter with penworked embellishment of swirling lines. Puzzle initials develop from this trend, whereby the initial executed in usually blue or red ink is divided by a puzzle-like division that is most often defined by a plain section of parchment. *Champ* initials, which are gold letters on a field of blue or red pigment develop later but are part of the same stylistic conversation, whereby the letters that guide the reader are emphasized decoratively with regard to their role in the design of the book. Their

¹²³. See François Avril and Patricia Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque nationale, manuscrits d'origine insulaire, VII^e-XX^e siècle* (Paris: BNF, 1987), p. xi (...apparaissant vers les années 1140, ce type d'initiale dont le cadre est découpé comme un puzzle, est peint en deux couleurs (normalement rouge et bleu) séparés par un filet de parchemin réservé, le tout agrémenté de filigranes).

¹²⁴. *Ibid.*

interiors are often further embellished with white filigree lines.



Figure 2.4: *Champ* initial from Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 126v. (Oxford? c. 1250)

The flourishing that appears in Royal MS 4 E. ix (Figure 2.5) demonstrates what could be termed a transitional phase from Romanesque manuscript decoration to Gothic. This is Peter Lombard's Gloss on St Paul's Epistles, made in France, most probably Paris, towards the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth. Fourteen historiated initials showing Paul at the beginning of each epistle dominate the book. The section that gives Peter Lombard's commentary is placed next to the historiated initial and is indicated by a decorated initial. Above these two

major painted initials is a penflourished filigree ‘P’, that marks the introduction to this next epistle.



Figure 2.5: London, BL, Royal MS 4 E. ix, f. 164v.¹²⁵ Penflourished and historiated initials ‘P’.

While the initials are similar in shape with thinner sections for the top and bottom of the bowl of the letter, they are decorated in a distinctly hierarchical fashion, with the incipit for the sacred text elevated in importance by the use of both pigment and historiation. Peter Lombard’s gloss is marked by a painted decorated initial, and the introduction is indicated by a penworked initial.¹²⁶ The penflourished initial to Peter

¹²⁵ See <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/results.asp>>. See also NJM, *EGM* I, pp. 49-51.

¹²⁶ See Stirnemann, p. 60, where she suggests that the puzzle filigree initial was below the champ initial with regard to decorative hierarchy, and above the filigree initial, and that hierarchy was sustained until the close of the Middle Ages. (Elle s’approprié une place déterminée dans la hiérarchie

Lombard's introduction to this Epistle carries swirling red filigree flourishing within the blue frame of the initial, and 'pointing finger' flourishes descend from the letter itself. Further evidence of hierarchy is demonstrated by the fact that the penworked flourish is written over by the hand that produces the historiated initial. No doubt the historiated and decorated pigment initials were added last to the book, but the interference of the frame of the historiated initial over the red pointing finger of the penwork decoration indicates an assurance of importance with the execution of the painted initials, quite apart from their chronological place in the making of the book. The painted initial's place at the top of the decorative hierarchy is plainly demonstrated by its placement not only adjacent to but also on top of the penworked letter.

While the stylistic elements which emerge at the close of the twelfth century are already present in the penwork repertoire of Romanesque artists, the development of penwork structures that expand into the margins of the folio are often associated with scribal work. The first appearance of these structures, which are distinct from French filigree puzzle initials, occurs in northern Italy. The filigree puzzle initials, already present in Italian manuscripts, exist side by side with this new development. While the penwork elements that are observable in the decoration of minor initials are present in both monastic and commercial productions, the strong development of complex penwork structures is found most often in the *bas de page* of commercial productions. The emergence of penwork embellishment associated particularly with legal manuscripts in Bologna, suggests that this development was propelled by the work of scribes working either from private dwellings or in commercial shops.

du décor-au-dessous de l'initiale champie et au-dessus de la lettre filigranée-et survit jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Age).

Surviving contracts for the production of legal manuscripts can be found in the *libri memoriali* of the Municipality of Bologna.¹²⁷ The notarial *formula* written by Ranieri da Perugia between 1216 and 1223 demonstrates that at least in some contracts the scribe was employed to provide rubrication and minor initials, as well as committing to the copying of the text.¹²⁸ In the section headed *De locationibus operum ad scribendum*, Ranieri describes the components of a contract to be agreed for the copying of a manuscript. Ranieri refers to the case of one Manierius de Fano, a scribe who had agreed to provide a copy of the *Digestum Vetus* for the *dominus* Guido de Certona. In the contract Manierius not only promises to complete the text in the same good hand that he has supplied in his sample of work, but he also agrees to provide ‘*rubricas et minora remittet ei secundum consuetudinem huius terre.*’ (the rubrics and minor initials shall be required of him as is the custom of his country). In this instance, the scribe was contractually obliged to supply not only the text in ‘*manu propria*’ (in a single, previously approved hand, most probably the hand of Manierius himself) but also the rubrication and the initials. Joanna Frońska makes the point that this agreement emphasizes that the illumination would have been supplied separately, not as part of the contract regarding the preparation of the text. It is also interesting to note that the phrase ‘*secundum consuetudinem huius terre*’ (as is the custom of this

^{127.} I thank Joanna Frońska for bringing this to my attention. See Joanna Frońska, ‘Fonctions et usages des images dans les manuscrits juridiques; Le Digestum Vetus de Justinien de la Bibliothèque de Kórnik, BK 824’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Uniwersytet Warszawski and Université de Poitiers, 2 vols 2007), I, pp. 43-5. See note 62, p. 45: ‘L’Agence des Memoriali enregistrait tous les contrats entre les particuliers qui dépassaient 20 et à partir de 1300, 25 bol. Le 90% des livres y mentionnés sont des manuscrits juridiques. Les documents des Memoriali des années 1265 – 1270 sont publiés dans le Chartularium Studii Bononiensis. Documenti per la storia dell’Università di Bologna dalle origini sino al XV, V, VII, VIII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XIV, XV, Bologne, 1909 – 1988, et des années 1300 – 1330 chez G. Orlandelli, *Il libro a Bologna dal 1300 al 1330. Documenti. Con uno studio su il contratto di scrittura nella dottrina notarile bolognese*, Bologne, 1959’. The *Chartularium* is also available online at <<https://archive.org/details/chartulariumstu03bolo>>.

^{128.} See Gianfranco Orlandelli, ‘Il contratto di scrittura nella dottrina notarile bolognese,’ in *Scritti di Paleografia e Diplomatica*, ed. by Roberto Ferrara and Giovanni Feo (Bologna: Istituto per la storia dell’Università di Bologna, 1994), pp. 427-66.

country) is included. This is a contract prepared in Bologna, and it is perhaps significant that specific reference is made to the Bolognese manner of including in the contractual obligations of the scribe his obligation to carry out the decorative embellishment of the text. This phrase then imposes Bolognese practice on scribes from other locations. Frońska notes that there are other contracts from the last quarter of the thirteenth century in Bologna that refer to the execution of rubrication and initials as part of the scribal obligations.¹²⁹ She cites a contract from 1286 that specifies scribal obligations for rubrication and initials: ‘scribere et complere...unum Volumen et tres partes trium librorum in testu... ponendos minores et dictum librum rubrigando’ (to write and complete...one volume and three books in three parts...supplying minor initials and rubricating the said book).¹³⁰

The clustered arrangements of largely red and blue flourishing are aptly described in European literature as ‘*jeux de plume*’, games of the pen, or pen play (Figure 2.6 and 2.7).¹³¹

¹²⁹ See Frońska note 65, p. 45: ‘Voir le contrat de Nicolò da Modena du 3 mai 1269 pour le Digestum Vetus; Riccardo di Lamberto du 27 septembre 1286 pour Summam archiepiscopi; Zanibone di Aspettato du 3 decembre du 1288 et Bonaguida di Diotaiuti da S. Cassiano du 29 mars 1268 pour les Bibles. F. Filippini, G. Zucchini, Miniatori e pittori a Bologna. Documenti dei secoli XIII e XIV, Racolta di fonti per la Storia dell'Arte diretta da Mario Salmi, Firenze 1947’.

¹³⁰ See Frońska, pp. 45-46.

¹³¹ See François Avril and Patricia D. Stirnemann, *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine insulaire VIIe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1987). See especially their section on the development of a descriptive lexicon for decorative elements of Romanesque and Gothic manuscripts. (‘*Lexique*’, p. xiii) See also *Duecento: Forme e colori del Medioevo a Bologna*, ed. by Massimo Medica and Stephano Tumidei (Bologna: Masilio, 2000) and *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine italienne*, ed. by F. Avril and Y. Zaluska (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1980) and *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine italienne*, ed. by F. Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1984).

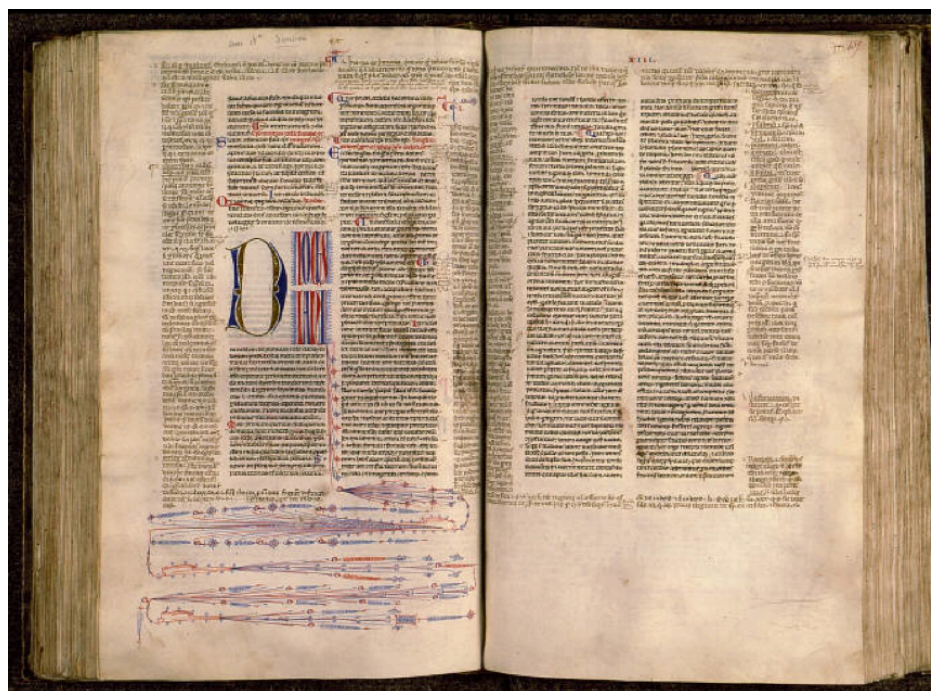


Figure 2.6: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, Gratian's *Decretum* with Commentary of Bartholomaeus Brixiensis, c. 1190-1210, northern Italy, f. 158v. (cause 13¹³²)

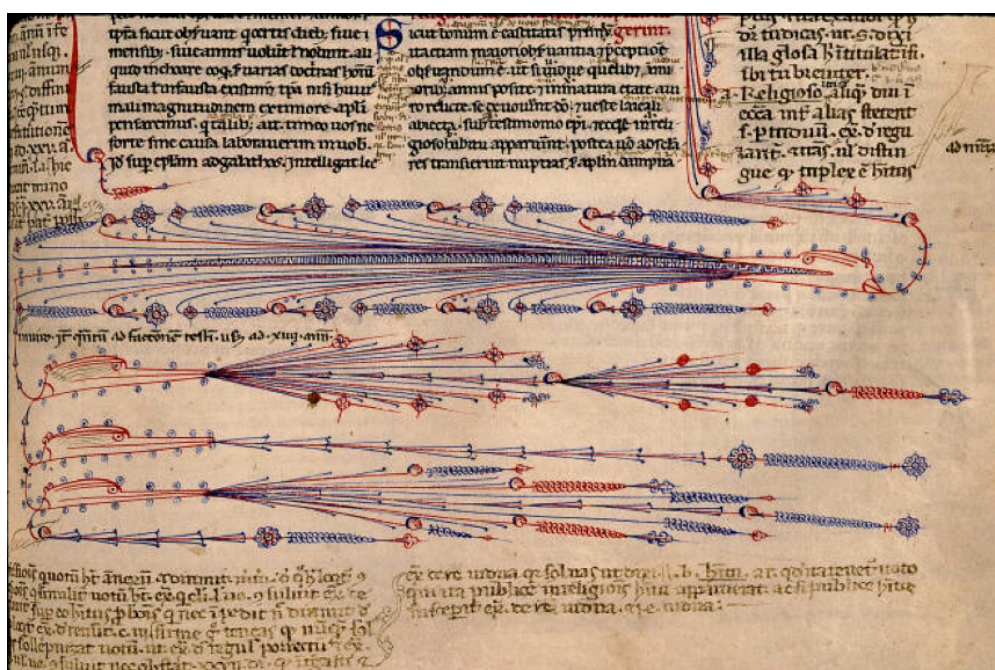


Figure 2.7: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, Gratian's *Decretum* with Commentary of Bartholomaeus Brixiensis, c. 1190-1210, northern Italy, f. 232v. (cause 27)

¹³². For this manuscript and further images see <<http://liberfloridus.cines.fr>> les bibliothèques et leurs manuscrits. Especially images 13, 14, 15 and 17.

The term was coined by Marie-Thérèse Gousset in her introduction to the thirteenth-century Bolognese manuscripts held by the Bibliothèque nationale.¹³³ Gousset describes '*jeux de plume*' flourishing as:

....dessins à l'encre bleue et rouge, tracés à la plume. Ces '*jeux de plume*' se composent généralement de protomes crachant des faisceaux de tiges chargées de rosettes, d'enroulements, de barrettes à entrelacs, de crochets et de motifs divers disposés en épis.¹³⁴

Massimo Medica does not find the term *jeux de plume* entirely satisfactory, in that he objects to the unplanned, serendipitous connotations of the term regarding the design element of the *bas de page* penwork. The measured symmetrical quality that Medica emphasizes is present in some *jeux de plume* work, but it is not an essential element to this type of *bas de page* embellishment. It may be more closely associated with Bolognese work than that of other production centres. *Bas de page* pen extensions, including horizontal and vertical types, often accompanied by figural work, are found most particularly in late twelfth-century, and early thirteenth-century legal manuscripts produced predominantly in Bologna, but also in other northern Italian centres.¹³⁵

Before proceeding to discuss Bolognese penwork developments, some vocabulary must be presented to identify the important sections of the pen structures.

This *jeux de plume bas de page* example has four main sections consisting of

¹³³. See *Manuscripts D'Origine Italienne*, ed. by François Avril, and Marie-Thérèse Gousset (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1984), p. 63.

¹³⁴. *Ibid.*

¹³⁵. See M. Medica and S. Tumedei, *Duecento: Formi e colori del Medioevo a Bologna* (Venice: Masilio, 2000). See also Robert Gibbs, 'The Development of the Illustration of Legal manuscripts by Bolognese Illuminators between 1250 and 1298' in *Juristische Buchproduktion im Mittelalter*, ed. by Vincenzo Colli (Frankfurt: V. Klostermann, 2002), pp. 173-218. See also Robert Gibbs, 'The 13th-century development of illumination in Bolognese copies of the Decretals of Gregory IX' in *Dalla pecia all'e-book: libri per l'università: stampa, editoria, circolazione e lettura: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Bologna, 21-25 ottobre 2008*, ed. by Gian Paolo Brizzi and Maria Gioia Tavoni (Bologna: CLUEB, 2009), pp. 49-65.

embellished horizontal flourishes. It is important to note that each of the sections is linked, and that the flourish can be viewed as a composite and complex but organically whole composition. Three of the flourishes emerge from a grotesque head (Figure 2.8).

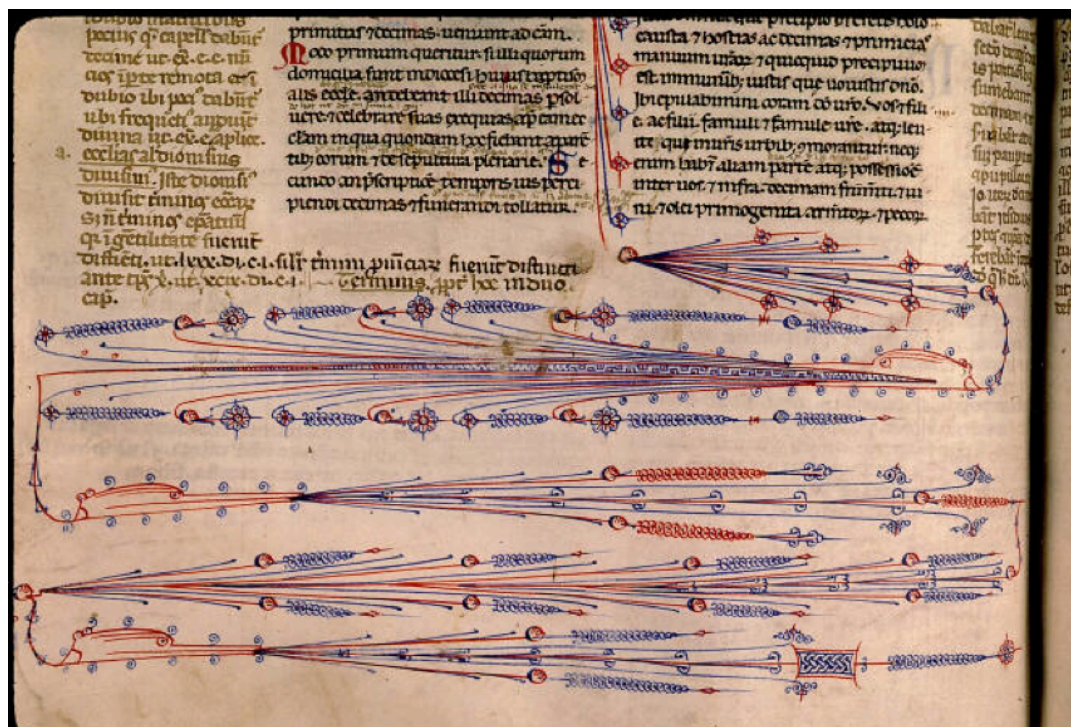


Figure 2.8: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, Gratian's *Decretum* with Commentary of Bartholomaeus Brixiensis, c. 1190-1210, northern Italy, f. 158v.

Each flourish is formed around what Margriet Hülsmann calls a '*basislijnen*' or baseline.¹³⁶ This is the central core of the flourish, from which the other parts emanate. A baseline can be simply a red, blue or gold line, but in Bolognese examples it is often composed of minuscule geometric forms (Figure 2.9). In this example the forms are chevrons and dentures, but diaper patterns, circles and crosses are other commonly employed devices.

¹³⁶ See Margriet Hülsmann '*Penwerk in Opbouw: Codering Als Beschrijvingsmethode Voor De Structuur Van Marginaal Penwerk*' in *Middeleeuwse Handschriftenkunde in de Nederlanden 1988: Verslag Van De Groningse Codicologendagen, 28-29 april 1988*, ed. by Joseph M. M. Hermans (Grave: Alfa, 1989), pp. 45-58.

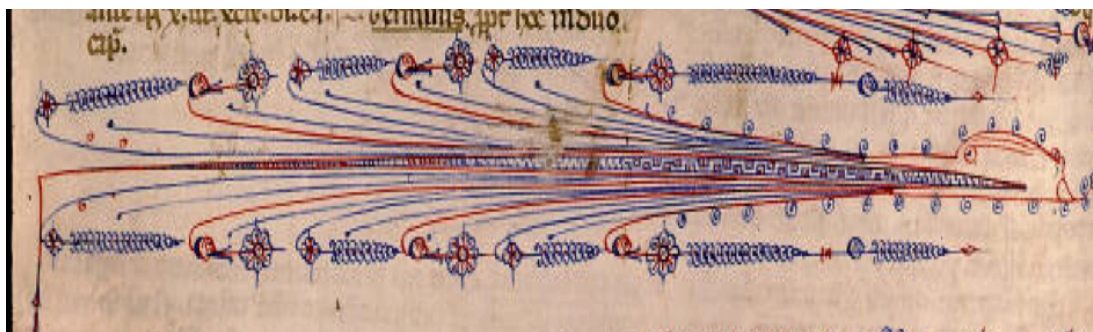


Figure 2.9: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, Gratian's *Decretum* with Commentary of Bartholomaeus Brixiensis, c. 1190-1210, northern Italy, f. 158v. (detail embroidered baseline)

These embellished baselines will be referred to as 'embroidered baselines' to denote the geometric patterns they carry. Extending from the same point as the embroidered baseline are further fine penwork lines, which sometimes turn back upon themselves, terminating in a tiny round head that spouts further elements of the flourish. These small grotesques will be called 'roundheads' (Figure 2.10).

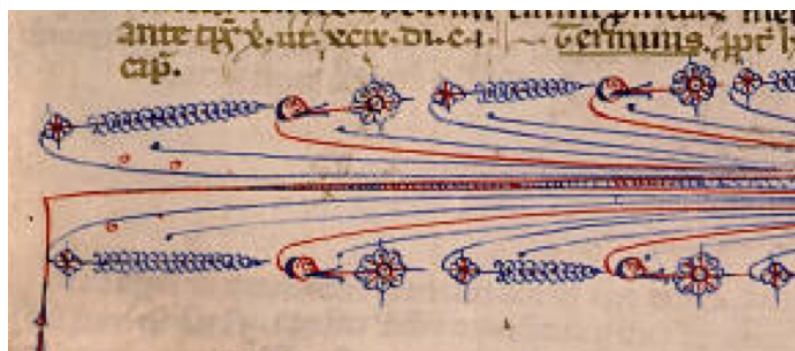


Figure 2.10: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, Gratian's *Decretum* with Commentary of Bartholomaeus Brixiensis, c. 1190-1210, northern Italy, f. 158v. (detail roundheads)

They are a consistent element of *jeux de plume* flourishing and continue to appear in these structures throughout the middle of the thirteenth century in England. A third crucial component of *jeux de plume*, particularly in Bologna is the use of what Robert Gibbs calls the 'heads of barley'.¹³⁷ These are the clustered barley-like shapes that are often used to terminate a flourish (Figure 2.11).

¹³⁷ See Gibbs, 2002, p.180.

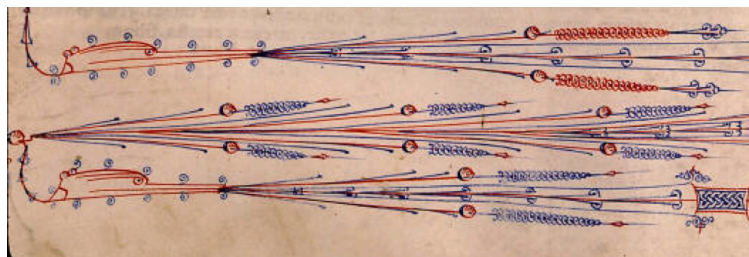


Figure 2.11: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, Gratian's *Decretum* with Commentary of Bartholomaeus Brixiensis, c. 1190-1210, northern Italy, f. 158v. (detail 'heads of barley')

In addition to the terms defined so far: the embroidered baseline, the roundhead and the heads of barley, floriate motifs are also commonly used (Figure 2.12).

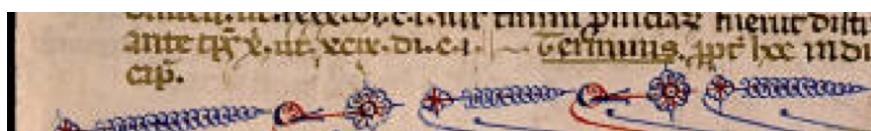


Figure 2.12: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, Gratian's *Decretum* with Commentary of Bartholomaeus Brixiensis, c. 1190-1210, northern Italy, f. 158v. (detail foliate motifs)

The final component of Bolognese work of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is the use of grotesque heads spouting calligraphic penwork (Figure 2.13). This is an early distinctive element in Bolognese work; it is developed from this base all over Europe and used extensively in deluxe productions of the William de Brailes circle in Oxford in the mid-thirteenth century.

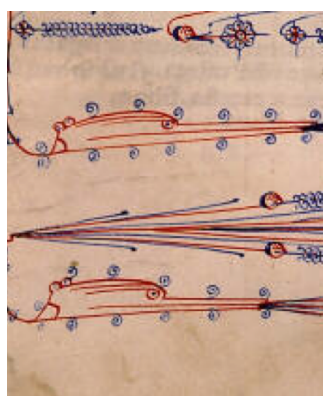


Figure 2.13: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, Gratian's *Decretum* with Commentary of Bartholomaeus Brixiensis, c. 1190-1210, northern Italy, f. 158v. (detail grotesque heads)

Chapter 3 will focus on de Brailes and his circle, but the close juxtaposition of a *bas de page jeux de plume* structure from de Brailes' Stockholm Psalter, will serve to foreshadow the indication of Italian influence on the penwork in his luxury products. This example contains most of the basic components of the Bolognese structure as demonstrated by Paris, Bibl. Sainte Geneviève, MS 0168 including an embroidered baseline, roundheads, and heads of barley (Figure 2.14).

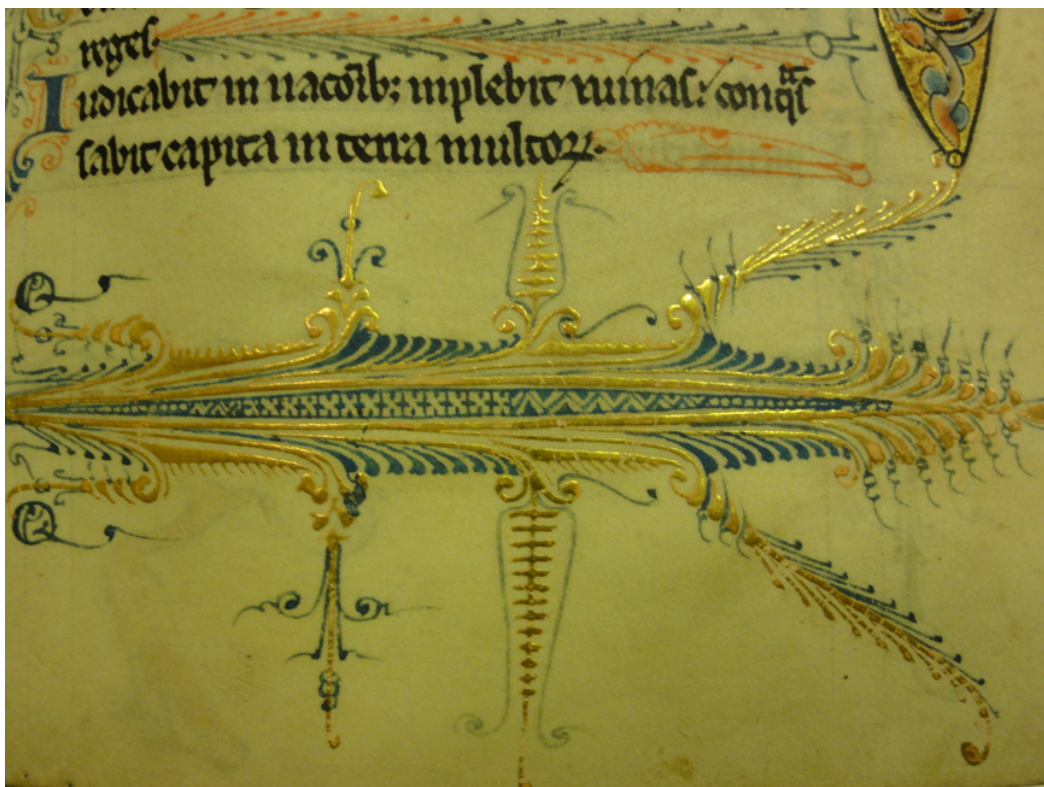


Figure 2.14: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 111r. (The Stockholm Psalter)

The use of *jeux de plume* transferred quickly from law books to a wide variety of texts. Bodleian MS Canon. Bibl. Lat. 8 is an early example of *jeux de plume* from northern Italy, produced in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century (Figure 2.15).

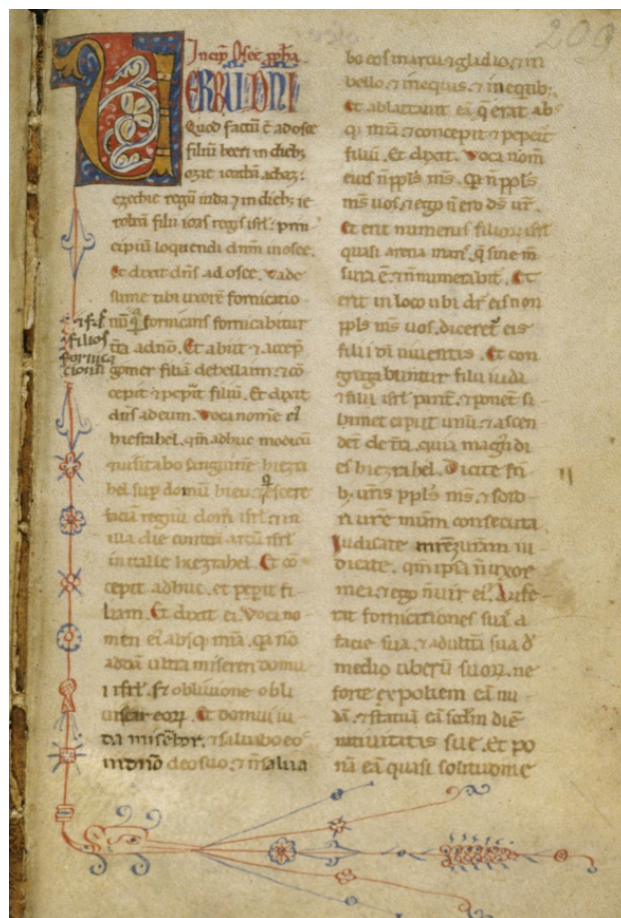


Figure 2.15: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Bibl. Lat 8, f. 209r. (incomplete Bible)¹³⁸

The flourishing descends from the Romanesque decorated initial 'V' (Verbum) and travels down the outside margin of the folio and turns to spout a *bas de page jeux de plume* structure. Most of the essential elements of *jeux de plume* are present including the grotesque elongated head shown in profile, the floriate motif, the roundheads and a head of barley used as a terminus for the central baseline.

The layout of the *libri legales* of the twelfth century was similar to those designed to accommodate glossed books of the Bible and the Psalms in the schools of northern France and Paris. The text was arranged in two columns of approximately

¹³⁸. See <<http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~1213~101185:Bible-incomplete--?pq=w4s:/when/13th%20century,%20beginning;lc:ODLodl~29~29,ODLodl~7~7,ODLodl~6~6,ODLodl~14~14,ODLodl~8~8,ODLodl~23~23,ODLodl~1~1,ODLodl~24~24&mi=113&trs=117>>. for further images and catalogue description.

fifty lines each. Ample marginal space was left for the commentaries of glossators. Each section of the text was indicated with either a puzzle initial or an illuminated initial. Particular to Bolognese manuscripts was the distinctive use of blue and red letters for the incipit of the section. Carl Nordenfalk argues that this was a distinctive Bolognese trait.¹³⁹ This blue and red incipit was often framed by a penwork design that suggests the fringe of a Turkish carpet (Figure 2.16).

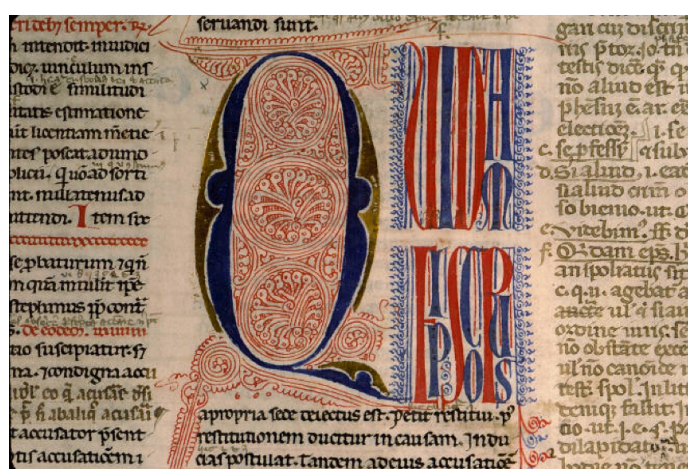


Figure 2.16: Gratian's *Decretum*, late 12th or early 13th century, Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168, f. 113r.

The use of clustered lines in red and blue emanating from a grotesque is also an early and significant component of Bolognese manuscript embellishment, which has a significant impact throughout northern Europe (Figure 2.17). Although Gibbs finds these pen extensions, often from grotesques, in manuscripts produced in Germany at the end of the twelfth century, and Avril and Gousset identify them in France and England from c. 1200, both Gibbs and Nordenfalk argue that the association of pensprays and grotesques is a particularly Bolognese trait, and one that is present in the formative period of the development of the manuscript trade in

¹³⁹ See Carl Nordenfalk, review of *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani* by Anthony Melnikas in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), 318-337. < <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1482045>>.

thirteenth-century Bologna.¹⁴⁰ Gibbs goes as far as to say of marginal grotesques that they ‘became paradigmatic for the whole of European illumination; although deriving from a widespread Romanesque tradition, their use as marginalia may be a Bolognese invention’.¹⁴¹

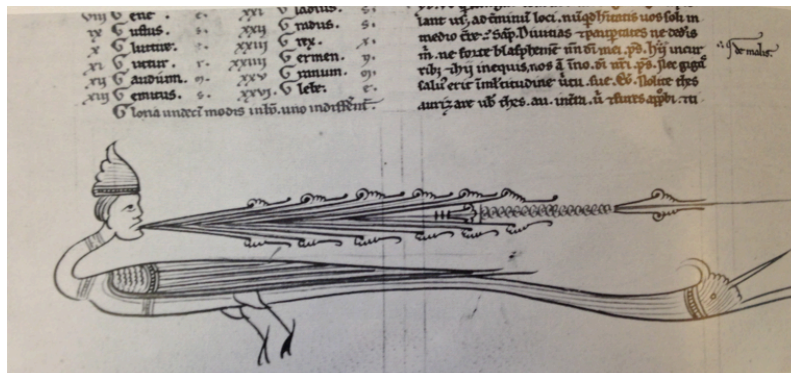


Figure 2.17: Paris, BNF, MS Latin 16896, f. 67r. (Petrus de Capua *Alphabetum in artem concionandi*, Bologna? Second quarter of thirteenth century)

The influence of this Bolognese development is important to the evolution of marginal decoration in thirteenth-century England. The extent of its influence has perhaps been understated. When Michael Camille suggested that marginal art ‘appeared suddenly’ in the second half of the thirteenth century, he was certainly correct with regard to a new emphasis in English art on the role of the margin of the folio in the context of *mise-en-page*.¹⁴² However, the development of marginal art begins much earlier, with Bologna at its centre. Its development in England is part of a continuous maturation of decorative style which is influenced by Italian style much earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century.¹⁴³ Italian law books produced for the

¹⁴⁰ Gibbs, 2002, p. 180, Nordenfalk, p. 326.

¹⁴¹ Gibbs, p. 180.

¹⁴² Michael Camille, ‘At the Edge of the Law’, in *England in the Fourteenth Century, Proceedings of the Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Nicholas Rogers (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1993), pp. 1-14, (p. 5).

¹⁴³ See Michelle P. Brown, ‘Marvels of the West: Giraldus Cambrensis and the Role of the Author in the Development of Marginal Illustration’, in *Decoration and Illustration in Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards, *English Manuscripts Studies 1100-1700*, 10 (London, British Library, 2002), pp. 34-59 for discussion of the development of illustrative, as opposed to decorative material, in the

nascent universities were an essential component to the development of marginal art in the thirteenth century.

The central texts for civil law were contained within the *Corpus iuris civilis*, established in the twelfth century.¹⁴⁴ The Digest was the seminal text in this corpus. Described by Susan L'Engle as a 'juristic scrapbook', the Digest contained the corpus of civil law from the reign of the sixth-century ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire, Justinian. The Digest consists of three parts: the *Digestum vetus*, the *Infortiatum*, and the *Digestum novum*. The Digest was central to the teaching of civil law at the University of Bologna from the late twelfth century and its status as a core text resulted in a proliferation of glossed commentary by Bolognese legal masters. Around 1200, the commentator Azo collated and organized the many commentaries on the texts.¹⁴⁵ Azo's work was followed by that of his student Accursius, and it is his work known as the *glossa ordinaria* that became the official text of the University of Bologna by the middle of the thirteenth century.¹⁴⁶ Gratian's *Decretum*, written in the middle of the twelfth century, aimed to reconcile conflicting opinions of the church with regard to canon law. L'Engle makes the important observation that Gratian, who may have been a Carmelite monk who taught in the law school at Bologna, used the dialectic model for the arrangement of his text, in the style of Peter Abelard, in *Sic et Non*, whereby conflicting opinions by authorities on a point of law would be assembled, and finally a synthesis called a '*dicta*' would be proposed in conclusion by Gratian. A *glossa ordinaria* was established for the *Decretum* by Johannes Teutonicus c.1215. This version of the *glossa ordinaria* was revised by Bartholomew

margins of the work of Giraldus.

¹⁴⁴. See Frońska, I, pp. 31-32.

¹⁴⁵. Guido Astuti, 'La "Glossa" accursiana', in *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi accursiani: Bologna, 21-26 ottobre 1963*, ed. by Guido Rossi (Milan: Giuffrè, 1968) pp. 288-379.

¹⁴⁶. *Ibid.*

of Brescia c. 1245, a text that became the established apparatus for the *Decretum*.

With regard to the development of decorative penflourishing, both the *Digest* and the *Decretum* proved fertile ground for a variety of reasons. The inclusion of a complex apparatus of commentary by glossators necessitated the use of rubrication and coloured initials to assist the reader in negotiating the text. The texts were produced commercially, and the position of the scribe in the production process would have been a dominant one. This position in the production hierarchy would have provided scribes with the opportunity to display their skill with the inclusion of *jeux de plume* in the *bas de page* of the manuscripts. The content of both the *Digest* and the *Decretum* also lent itself to illustration. The conundrums of legal judgment in the context of human misadventure not only provided interesting texts for illustration, but also helped to make the heavily glossed pages more visually appealing to the reader, and perhaps assisted in the process of memorizing the content of the page in the manner advocated by Hugh of St Victor.¹⁴⁷

Gibbs divides the development of Bolognese manuscript decoration into two major phases. The first phase, which Gibbs defines as the ‘Proto-Bolognese’ period extends from the end of the twelfth century up till 1250-60, and the ‘First Style’ which Gibbs refers to as ‘The Academic Manner’ evolves from 1250-60 onwards. The characteristics of Proto-Bolognese Style are the elements that are of importance for the development of penflourished decoration in northern Europe. Proto-Bolognese style is characterized by ‘[t]entative allocation of space for illumination, the use of extensive grotesques without an overall border structure or narrative’.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ See Susan L’Engle, ‘The Pro-Active Reader: Learning to Learn the Law’ in *Medieval Manuscripts, their makers and users* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 51-76.

¹⁴⁸ Gibbs (2002), p. 186.

The ‘Academic Manner’ is dominated by illumination as opposed to penwork decoration. Medica finds that pen extensions to the *bas de page* appear from the end of the third quarter of the twelfth century. He argues that examples can be found not only in northern Italy but also in France, particularly in Paris, as well as England.¹⁴⁹

Bodleian Library MS Bywater adds. 2 is a Cistercian Missal made in Pontigny between 1203-14 (Figure 2.18).

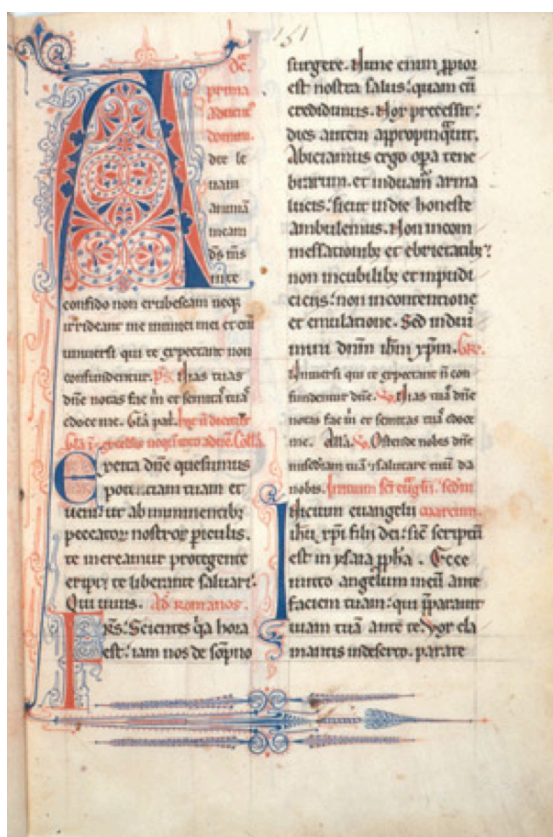


Figure 2.18: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bywater adds. 2, Cistercian Missal, France, Pontigny 1203-14, f. 4r. (*Temporale*)¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹. See Massimo Medica, *Ducento: Formi e colori del Medioevo e Bologna*, p. 174. The text of Medica's argument, as paraphrased above is as follows 'Questo genere di decorazione, che si usa denominare a jeux de plume- si tratta infatti di disegni tracciati a penna e inchiostro blu, rosso e talvolta Bruno, com   e il caso di alcune figure alle...era un procedimento relativamente poco costoso ed apparve molto presto, verso la fine del terzo quarto del secolo XII sia in regioni settentrionali quali la Francia, particolare Parigi, e l'Inghilterra sia in Italia.   tuttavia a Bologna che quei in voga, 'giochi di penna' sembrano essere stati pi  in voga, ed   di qui che paiono essersi largamente diffuse, traendo beneficio dal progresso nella produzione dei manoscritti di diritto legato allo sviluppo dell'Universit '.

¹⁵⁰. See <<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/bywater/adds/002.htm>>.

The *jeux de plume* in the *bas de page* displays the symmetrical qualities that Medica identifies as indicative of design-planning employed by the scribe or artist who applied the *bas de page* penwork flourish. The flourish is centred at the base of the inter-columnar space with circular shapes placed deliberately in the centre of the flourish. This *jeux de plume* design is also drawn carefully around the flourished initial 'F' that terminates the first column of text. The baseline of the *jeux de plume* flourish emerges from the long blue descender of the initial 'A' at the top of the column, neatly linking the design of the entire folio. The all-encompassing penwork design of this folio indicates that it was executed either by a scribe or someone who worked closely with the scribe. Missing from this French interpretation of *jeux de plume* are some of the distinctive Bolognese elements identified earlier. Neither an embroidered baseline, nor roundheads appear, but an interpretation of heads of barley terminates the flourishes on the right hand side of the *jeux de plume* design.

Less attention to balance is shown in the *jeux de plume* work in the *bas de page* of Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 65, a glossed Book of the Twelve Prophets produced c. 1200 (Figure 2.19).¹⁵¹



Figure 2.19: Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 65, unfoliated

¹⁵¹. For Pembroke College MS 65 see Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Pembroke College Cambridge* (Cambridge: University Press, 1905), pp. 57-58.

This copy of the Books of the Twelve Prophets is in general a less accomplished performance than the Cistercian Missal previously discussed. The script is of a lesser quality, as are the puzzle initials, which are much less confidently executed. The *jeux de plume* is linked to the puzzle initial by a diagonal line that terminates in a grotesque head from which the *jeux de plume* emanates. While the *jeux de plume* flourish does show some signs of symmetrical planning with its six lines divided neatly by a central baseline that consequently subdivides and terminates in an arrow shape, perhaps it is the execution of the termini of the other lines of the flourish that fail to sustain its symmetrical design. Heads of barley are used to break up the penwork and to terminate two of the lines.

The flourishing in Pembroke MS 65 also contains another important Bolognese element to *jeux de plume*, and that is the grotesque that serves to spout the penflourish. Stirnemann defines this association of grotesque heads with long penwork lines, usually travelling across the width of a folio and carrying further intricate penwork micro-flourishes as the '*prolongation à l'italienne*' or in English, 'Italian shooters'.¹⁵² It is the combination of these distinctive Bolognese elements, overwhelmingly associated with legal books in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, that enable us to identify Italian influence when it appears in the decorative vocabulary of books produced in other locations.¹⁵³ M. R. James suggested that MS 65 was produced in England, but this would be an unusually early appearance for such distinctive Bolognese decorative elements. There is only one such prolongation

¹⁵². From an email exchange with Patricia Stirnemann, 20th March 2014. The term was first used by François Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset in *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne, II, XIII siècle*, (Paris: BNF, 1984), pp. 63-64. See also Stirnemann (1990), p. 62, and n. 3, p. 59.

¹⁵³. See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1905), p. 57.

in the book, and it may be that this was added by a scribe who had seen the decoration elsewhere. The rest of the decorative programme for the book is typical of the late 12th century in England, with blue and red puzzle initials, and ‘extended fans’ and ‘pointing finger fans’ that appear consistently in the flourishing.

Northern Italian style is apparent in the decoration of French manuscripts produced in Paris in the beginning of the thirteenth century in both developments, in the form of filigree puzzle initials as well as interpretations of *jeux de plume* flourishing evident in flourishes that intrude into the margins of the folio. Stirnemann suggests that filigree puzzle initials begin to accommodate Italian style extensions c. 1180- 1200 in Parisian manuscripts.



Figure 2.20: Paris: BNF, Lat. 14243, f. 6r. Gospel of St Matthew with the commentary of Rabanus Maurus, provenance of Saint Victor, Paris, c. 1180-90¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴. This image and the one immediately following, Figure 2.22, are reproduced from Patricia Stirnemann's article 'Fils de la vierge: l'initiale à filigranes parisienne 1140-1314', *Revue de l'art* (1990), 58-73.

There is a strong contrast in the flourish that extends from the *fleuronnée* initial 'I' in the *bas de page* of BNF Latin 14243, and the scrolled *fleuronnée* flourishing that surrounds the stem of the letter (Figure 2.20). In contrast to the flowing form of the *fleuronnée* that initiates the flourish, the terminus of the letter is markedly symmetrical with an embroidered baseline of chevrons accompanied by curling symmetrical extensions. Stirnemann further argues that the articulated bands that extend both above and below the filigree and puzzle initials are derived from Italian penwork, most particularly the '*prolongation à l'italienne*' (Figure 2.21).



Figure 2.21: Paris, BNF, Lat. 9970, f. 45r., Calendar, martrology, obits, provenance Paris, c. 1242-49

Italian influence is found also in the margins of Parisian manuscripts, away from the proximity of the *fleuronnée* letter. This development is found in the first decades of the thirteenth century, particularly in those books produced in commercial as opposed to monastic environs. Most thirteenth-century legal texts were produced in either Bologna or Paris, and they were exported to a wide variety of locations from

these production centres.¹⁵⁵ As Susan L'Engle has demonstrated, not only books, but the artisans involved in their production, both scribes and illuminators travelled great distances to practise their craft where commercial opportunity was perceived.¹⁵⁶

L'Engle notes the work of Frank Soetermeer, who finds a large number of scribes and illuminators from Britain in the civic records of the city of Bologna during the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁷ Italian influence is found in deluxe liturgical books for secular patrons such as the Lewis Psalter (Philadelphia, Free Library, MS Lewis E 185) and the Psalter of Jeanne de Navarre (Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Lat 22).¹⁵⁸

Both of these Psalters not only carry significant penflourishing, but they also include unusual rubrics that accompany the opening of each Psalm. The rubrics, composed in simple Latin, give a *précis* of the contents of the Psalm, and although placed next to the historiated initial for each Psalm, they do not describe the subject of the illumination. The inclusion of these rubrics point to a secular patron, and the profusion of illumination also indicates an expensive commission.

The Lewis Psalter was probably produced in Paris, c. 1225-40; the earlier date seems more likely (Figure 2.22).¹⁵⁹ The Psalter includes a prefatory cycle of

¹⁵⁵. See Susan L'Engle's discussion on the production of legal texts in *Illuminating the Law: Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections* (London: Harvey Miller, 2001), pp. 39-53.

¹⁵⁶. *Ibid*, p. 44.

¹⁵⁷. *Ibid* and see Frank P. W. Soetermeer, 'À propos d'une famille de copistes: quelques remarques sur la librairie à Bologna aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles', *Studi medievali*, 3. 30 (1989), 425-78.

¹⁵⁸. For the Lewis Psalter see Edwin Wolf, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the John Frederick Lewis Collection of European Manuscripts in the Free Library of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Free Library of Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 200-04, and *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, ed. by James R. Tanis (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), pp. 51-3. Noel suggests that the roundels of the prefatory miniatures bear comparison to the *Bible moralisée* in Paris, Toledo, Vienna and Oxford. Manchester, John Rylands Lat. MS 22 is the Psalter of Jeanne de Navarre, produced in Paris c. 1220-30 and identified as a product of the Vienna Moralized Bible workshop. See M. R. James, *A Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester: John Rylands Library, 1921), pp. 64-71 and Reiner Hausscherr, 'Psalter der Jeanne de Navarre' in *Festschrift Matthias Zender, Studien zu Volkskultur, Sprache und Landesgeschichte* ed. by Edith Ennen and Günter Wiegmann (Bonn: Ludwig-Röhrscheid-Verlag, 1972), pp. 573-97.

¹⁵⁹. See William Noel's entry for the Lewis Psalter, 'Gallican Psalter with Canticles, Litany and Two Prayers' in *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, 2001, pp. 51-53. Noel dates the Psalter to 1220-30, in contrast to the broader dates of 1220-50 as proposed on the Free

twenty-five paintings of the life of Christ. The *fleuronnée* flourishing that surrounds the minor capitals that begin each verse of the Psalms displays the circles with dots and open fans that characterize *fleuronnée* before the middle of the century, as well as the complex look that Stirnemann ascribes to flourishing during the 1220-30 period in Paris.¹⁶⁰ The elegant Gothic script, *littera minuscula gothica textualis prescissa formata*, further suggests the earlier date. Important to the progression of thirteenth-century *mise-en-page* is the appearance of the *prolongation à l'italienne* in both the *bas de page* and the outer margins of this text.



Figure 2.22: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, f. 52r.¹⁶¹

The grotesque heads that spout the *prolongations* are of the type observed in Bolognese examples, with the animal head shown in profile both in the *bas de page*

Library's website.

¹⁶⁰ See Stirnemann, 1990, pp. 64-66.

¹⁶¹ This image and those that follow from the Lewis Psalter have been accessed through <<http://libwww.freelibrary.org/medievalman/ShelfMarkDetailList.cfm?srch=6&shelfmark=Lewis%20E%20185>>.

and in text line fourteen. More Romanesque style heads that face the viewer appear in text lines six and twenty. The *prolongations* travel either straight across or down the side of the folio. This characteristic differentiates these Italian style extensions from Romanesque spouts of penwork display that appear in a fountain-like dispersion. In this example, the *prolongations* show baselines in both blue and gold, but the embroidered element to the baselines is absent. Both the heads of barley and the roundheads identified in earlier Bolognese *jeux de plume* work have evolved into less obvious elements of the design. The roundheads are interpreted in the *bas de page* flourish as scroll-like punctuations both above and below the flourish (Figure 2.23a).

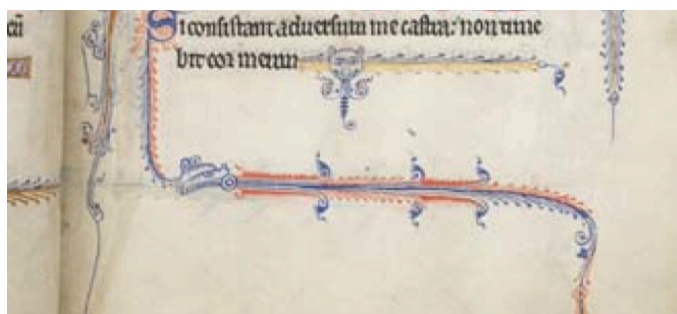


Figure 2.23a: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, f. 52r.



Figure 2.23b: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, f. 52r.

The heads of barley have enlarged, and terminate the flourish in the right hand margin (Figure 2.23b).

The segmentation of the *prolongations* that is accentuated by the revised roundheads in the flourish in the *bas de page* is an important characteristic of the evolving *bas de page prolongations*. *Bas de page prolongations* also travel diagonally across the margin, but they remain a straight line when in the diagonal *bas de page* position (Figure 2.24). They are applied as a wavy line when they extend into the right or left hand margin of the folio, but this is an unusual feature (Figure 2.25).



Figure 2.24: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, f. 45v.



Figure 2.25: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, f. 32r.

The role of grotesques in the *bas de page* of the folio is also enlarged in the Lewis Psalter. Instead of functioning as the source of flourishes only, as in Bolognese *jeux de plume* or *prolongations*, the grotesques here sometimes imply a narrative contribution to facilitate a multivalent reading of the text. The ape in the *bas de page* of f. 38v. is placed at the close of Psalm 9 (Figure 2.26). The content of the Psalm could be amplified via this image particularly with regard to verses 25-31, where the unclean ways of the ungodly are described. Verse 25 reads ‘*Non est Deus in conspectu eius inquinatae sunt viae illius in omni tempore auferuntur iudicia tua a facie eius omnium inimicorum suorum dominabitur*’.¹⁶² (God is not before his eyes: his ways are filthy at all times. Thy judgments are removed from his sight: he shall rule over all his enemies).

¹⁶². The quotation from Psalm 9 is from <<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/bible/psalms.html>>. and the English translation is from *The Holy Bible, Douay-Rheims Version* (London: Baronius Press, 2007), p. 584.



Figure 2.26: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, ff. 38v.-39r.

Depiction of the ape in eschatological contexts may have transmigrated via Islamic artists to western medieval art, but the ape's message in this instance seems also scatological.¹⁶³ His consumption of his own faeces may refer to verse 27 '*Cuius maledictione os plenum est et amaritudine et dolo sub lingua eius labor et dolor*' (His mouth is full of cursing, and of bitterness, and of deceit: under his tongue are labour and sorrow). This juxtaposition of grotesques with interpretive implications for the viewer and *prolongations à l'italienne* is an important component of the development of marginal art as the thirteenth century proceeds. The straight progress of the *prolongation* provides a base for the placement of grotesques as marginal art develops in the second half of the thirteenth century.

The Lewis Psalter is a member of Robert's Branner's 'Leber' group.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ See Horst Waldemar Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1952; repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1976); Karl P. Wentersdorf, 'The Symbolic Significance of the 'Figure Scatologicae' in Gothic Manuscripts', in *Word, Picture and Spectacle*, ed. by C. Davidson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1984), pp. 1-20; Mónica A. Walker Vadillo, 'Apes in Medieval Art', *Medieval Animal Data Network*, October, 28th, 2013, < <http://mad.hypotheses.org/172> >.

¹⁶⁴ See Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study in Styles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 23-24, 61, 64, cat. 208-9. The members of

Another member of this group of fourteen manuscripts is the ‘Kristina Psalter’ (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1606 4°). This small Psalter, made in Paris c. 1230, has a royal provenance, as it belonged to Kristina, the daughter of Norway’s King Håkon Håkonson.¹⁶⁵ Branner’s study deals exclusively with the painting styles of the manuscripts he describes. The decorative content of the manuscripts also reveals stylistic influence. The flourishing hand in the Kristina Psalter, although not the same flourishing hand as appears in the Lewis Psalter, shows some of the same ideas about marginal decoration via the *prolongation à l’italienne* as the hand in the Lewis Psalter (Figure 2.27).



Figure 2.27: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS GKS 1606 4°, f. 25v.

the ‘Leber’ group were identified by Branner as a group of Parisian illuminators whose work was in the monumental style, with *muldenfalten* loops used for draperies and large heads for the figures. The heads are characterized by abundant wavy hair and a small circle on the lower lip and chin when the figure is bearded (Branner, p. 61). For a list of the members of the Leber group see pp. 208-09.

¹⁶⁵ See <<http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/220/eng/>>. for the images from the Psalter.

The flourishing hand in the Kristina Psalter is consistent throughout the book, as is the case for the Lewis Psalter. Flourishes in the style of the *prolongation à l'italienne* are used sporadically in contrast to their use on nearly every folio of the Lewis Psalter. Segmentation of the *prolongations* is marked by the use of the roundhead-like curls that indicate when a different type of flourish is used in the structure of the *prolongation*. The use of grotesques is more restrained in the Kristina Psalter and they do not appear in the *bas de page* of this manuscript. However, they do appear as line fillers in the Psalter, and these grotesques do sometimes spout Italianesque *prolongations*. The grotesque in the last line on f. 26v. spouts a *prolongation* that includes the revised roundheads, and a head of barley (Figure 2.28). The flourish here does not spout in a Romanesque fashion whereby the flourish is formed as a spray with a diffusely projecting range, but in the Italian style as a single embellished baseline that has one main trajectory.

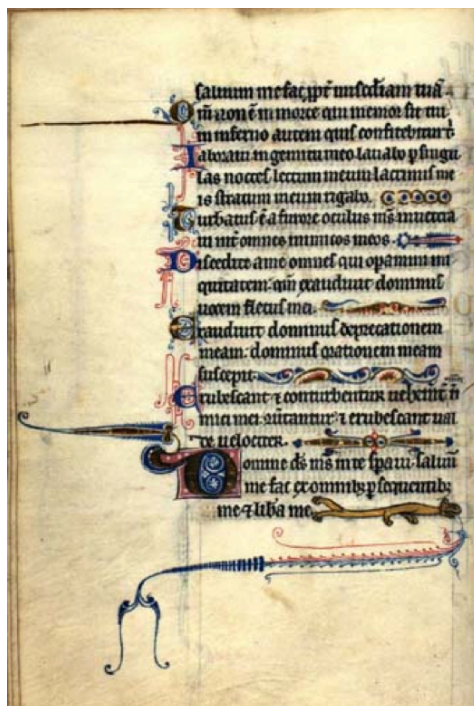


Figure 2.28: Copenhagen, *Det Kongelige Bibliothek*, MS GKS 1606 4°, f. 26v.

The Kristina Psalter demonstrates further the use of the northern Italian decorative motif of the *prolongation* for high status productions in the first quarter of the century in Paris. Bodleian MS Douce 50, which is what Branner refers to as a ‘*unicum*’, or a manuscript that does not have a painterly connection with any of the other groups that he has identified, carries a looser structured *prolongation* in the *bas de page* of f.1r.¹⁶⁶ This Psalter is slightly later than the Kristina Psalter and the Lewis Psalter and indicates a less tightly structured form for the *prolongations* (Figure 2.29).



Figure 2.29: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 50, f. 2r.

The Psalter of Jeanne de Navarre (John Rylands MS Lat. 22) is also discussed by Branner but in a different group than the Lewis Psalter. He includes this work of c. 1220-30 in the Vienna Moralised Bible atelier.¹⁶⁷ Unusually, the penwork and the line fillers in this Psalter are mentioned in an article by Leopold V. Delisle in an

^{166.} See Branner, p. 107.

^{167.} See Branner, pp. 45-8, cat. 206, figs. 58, 62.

article of 1897 in which he places emphasis on the invention and delicacy of the line fillers and penflourishing in the book.¹⁶⁸

Ces miniatures ne sont pas la seule décoration du psautier. Les bouts de lignes non couverts par l'écriture ont été remplis par des ornements d'or, d'azur et de vermillon, et surtout par des animaux de formes généralement très allongées singes, quadrupèdes, oiseaux (coqs, grues, paons), lézards, sauterelles, poissons. Ces bêtes sont toutes dorées, de leurs bouches, gueules ou becs sortent des gerbes de filets rouges et bleus, très variés et très élégants, formant des bordures marginales très légères qui descendent parfois jusqu'au bas des pages.¹⁶⁹

The Psalter has a firm royal provenance, being in the possession of Jeanne de Navarre when she married Henry IV in 1403. Its decoration is extremely delicate and beautiful. The realistic qualities of some of the grotesques that spout the *prolongations* in this Psalter seem more naturalistic drawings than grotesque fantasies. This very unusual cricket on f. 93v. is a fine example of the drawing style of the hand that supplies the decorative embellishment for this Psalter (Figure 2.30).



Figure 2.30: Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Lat. 22, f. 93v.

¹⁶⁸. See Léopold Victor Delisle, 'Notice sur un Psautier du XIII siècle appartenant au Comte de Crawford', in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 58 (1897), pp. 381-93. See M. R James' quotation of Delisle in his catalogue description of MS Lat. 22 in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, I (Manchester, The University Press, 1921). See pp. 64-71 for the entry for Lat. 22.

¹⁶⁹. See Delisle (1897), p. 67.

The flourishing in the Psalter at times comes close to providing a complete frame for the text, an important element that will prove to have great influence on the development of the border in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There is a strong sense of deliberate design of the *mise-en-page* with the harmony and balance of the line fillers, *prolongations* and grotesques that spout them (Figure 2.31).



Figure 2.31: Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Lat. 22, f. 84r.

The use of *prolongations à l'italienne* in this high status Parisian work, with their elements that derive from *jeux de plume* work in the legal manuscripts of early thirteenth-century Bologna, emphasizes both the popularity and the status of the form in Paris in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The Italian style had migrated quickly and its status too had migrated upwards in terms of the social hierarchy of texts. From its beginnings in books for albeit wealthy students who could afford to

pay for penwork decoration to their books, Italian flourishing style had arrived in commissions for aristocratic patrons of liturgical books.

The development of penwork in England from c. 1180 has two distinct strands, the development of *fleuronnée* penwork that clings to the letter, and the extension of penwork into the margin of the folio. The impact of *jeux de plume* and *prolongations à l'italienne* in Parisian manuscripts is clear. The progression of Italian influence on English book decoration takes longer to develop. This influence may not be direct from Italian sources, but also from French, particularly Parisian sources that had adopted the *jeux de plume* style. The relative proximity of the northern Italian nascent universities at Padua and Bologna that specialized in law to the university of Paris may have accelerated the exchange of books that featured Bolognese decorative style, especially as Bolognese legal textbooks were often written in Bologna and exported to other locations for illustration.¹⁷⁰ The strong association of scribes with *jeux de plume* supports this suggestion for the early dispersion of Bolognese style.

As previously discussed, penflourishing is a minor element in Romanesque book decoration. The Bury Bible of c. 1135, produced for the abbey of Bury St Edmunds, demonstrates the uncomplicated *mise en page* of the English Romanesque Bible.¹⁷¹ The minor initials that mark the incipits to Books and verses are marked by their size and colour only. Occasionally a capital will show a trailing descender, but the descenders carry no *fleuronnée* amplification. Embellishment to the letter was

¹⁷⁰. See Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd edn. (London: Phaidon, 1994, repr. 2005), pp. 108-41, especially pp. 128-30 for his discussion of books written in Bologna and exported to Paris for the use of students reading law.

¹⁷¹. For the Bury Bible, Cambridge: Corpus Christi College, MS 2, part 1, see *The Cambridge Illuminations, Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West*, eds Paul Binski and Stella Panayotova (London: Harvey Miller, 2005), pp. 81-83. See also a complete facsimile, *The Bury Bible*, ed. R. Thomson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001).

restricted to the use of floreate termini or fan-like clasps that fix the corners of the opening initials. This subtle pen embellishment appears in monastic productions from the last quarter of the tenth century. The Bosworth Psalter, which may have been made at Canterbury in the last quarter of the tenth century, demonstrates this technique (Figure 2.32).

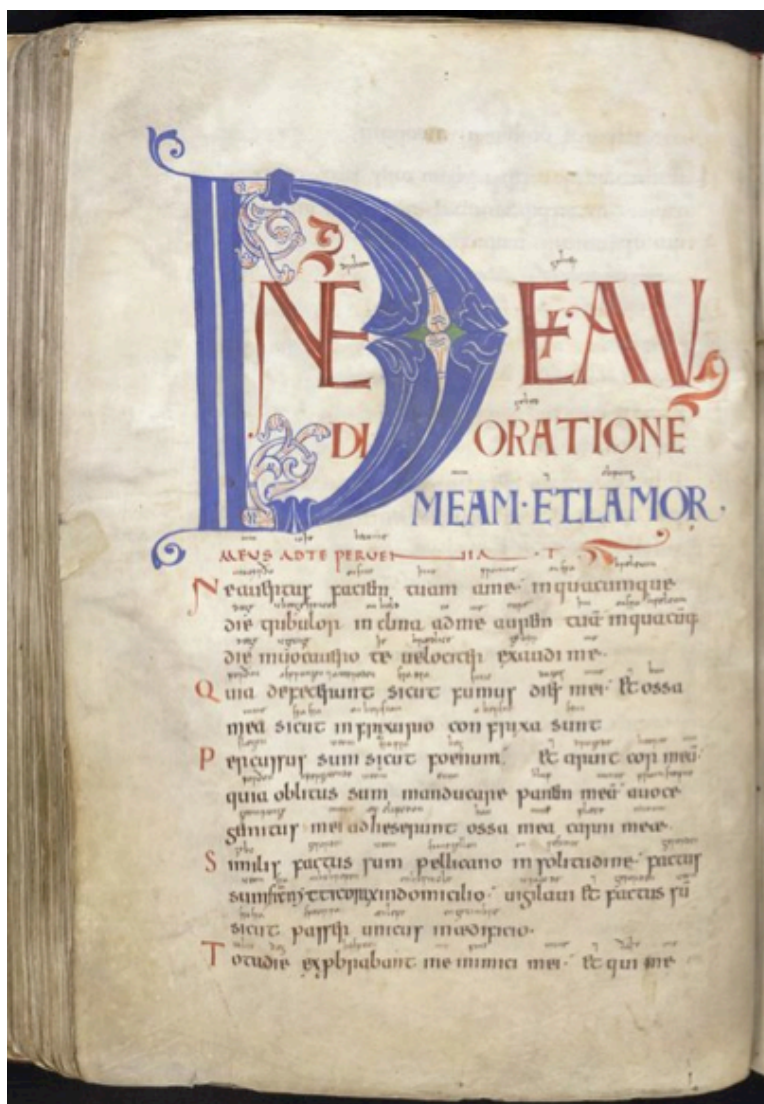


Figure 2.32: London, BL. Add. MS 37517, f. 64v. (The Bosworth Psalter)

Arundel MS 60, from the last quarter of the tenth century, and produced at Winchester, also displays floreate amplification of the capital (Figure 2.33).

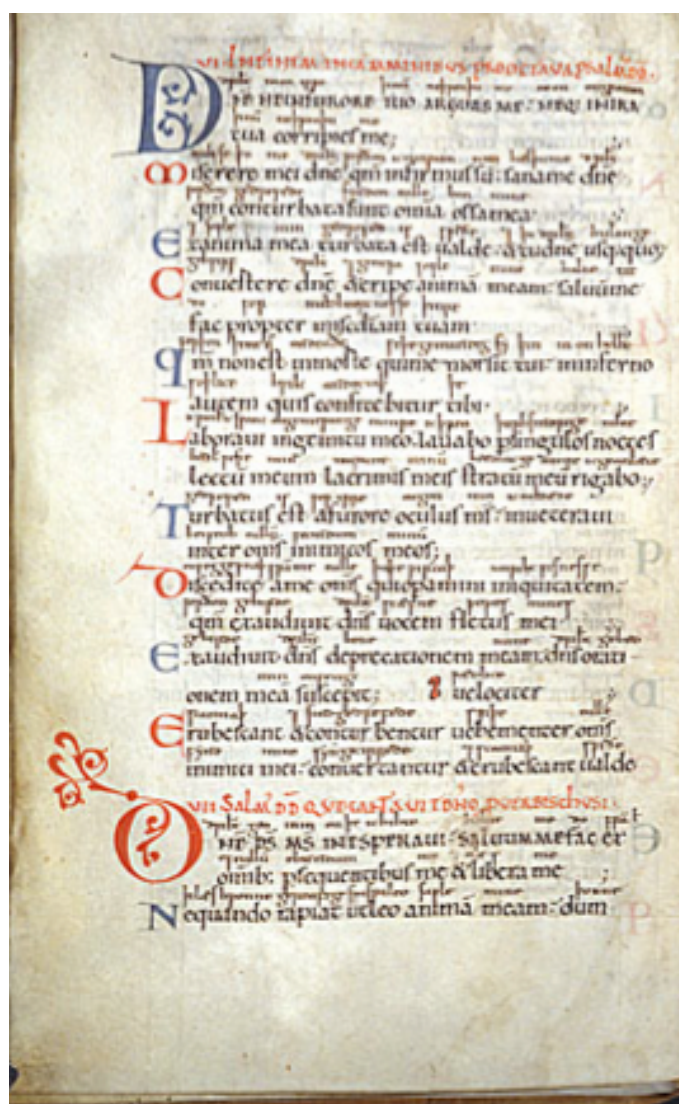


Figure 2.33: London, BL, Arundel MS 60, f. 15v.

The use of simple penflourishing to decorate minor initials was a consistent element of Romanesque book decoration. Books produced at St Albans during the abbacy of Simon (1167-83) display penflourishing of this type. Walter Cahn suggests that the earliest books given by Simon to the abbey derive their decorative attributes ‘directly from the Bible of Bury St Edmunds executed two or three decades earlier’.¹⁷²

The absence of *fleuronnée* flourishing is a consistent theme across regional

¹⁷² Walter Cahn, ‘St Albans and the Channel Style in England’ in *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), pp. 187-230, (p. 188).

styles with regard to the decoration of Romanesque books in England. Both the Dover Bible (Cambridge: Corpus Christi College, MS 3-4) and the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge: Trinity College, MS R.17.1), produced at Christ Church, Canterbury in the mid-twelfth century do not employ penflourishing of the *fleuronnée* type.

Although the books are distinctly different in style, with the simple layout of the Dover Bible, punctuated by historiated or decorated initials for the major divisions of the book, and the complex layout for the five versions of the Psalms (three in Latin, one in Old English and one in Anglo-Norman) of the Eadwine Psalter illustrated by tinted outline drawings in the tradition of the Utrecht Psalter, neither book uses penflourishing to embellish letters or margins.¹⁷³ The Winchester Bible (c.1150-80) and the Leiden Psalter (c.1190-1220) are likewise devoid of penflourished decoration.¹⁷⁴ The initials in the Dover Bible show evidence of the penwork techniques that will be utilized to shift decoration from the inside of the Romanesque letter to the interior and exterior of the Gothic. Additionally, several of the decorated initials in the Dover Bible demonstrate that the painters of the decorated initials were aware of continental trends in decorative technique by the use of the puzzle initial technique from northern France. The initial 'P' (Paulus) is constructed from a puzzle initial stem, even though it uses Romanesque tendrils to fill in the bowl of the letter, as opposed to filigree penwork (Figure 2.34).

¹⁷³. For the Eadwine Psalter see *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image and Monastic Culture in twelfth-Century Canterbury*, ed. Margaret Gibson (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1992). See particularly Patricia Stirnemann's article 'Paris, BNF, MS lat. 8846 and the Eadwine Psalter', pp. 186-92.

¹⁷⁴. For the Winchester Bible (Winchester, Winchester Cathedral, MS 17) see Claire Donovan, *The Winchester Bible* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1993). For the Leiden Psalter (Leiden, Universiteits bibliotheek, MS BPL 76a) see NGM, *EGM I*, no. 14.

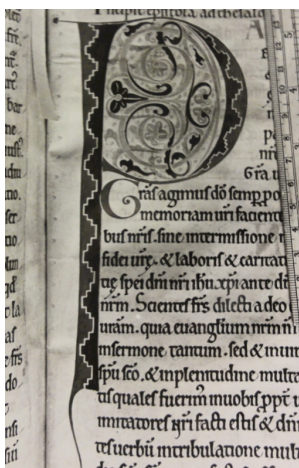


Figure 2.34: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 4, f. 267r.

Those who decorated late twelfth-century English manuscripts in England registered awareness of continental trends without wholeheartedly embracing them. This twelfth-century Gospel of St John from Hereford Cathedral Library shows evidence of an early form of flourishing which may also have originated in northern France.

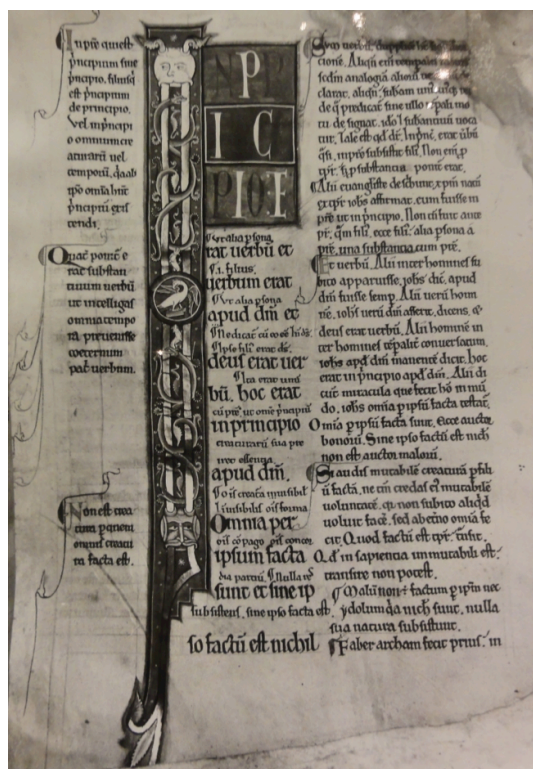


Figure 2.35: Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Library, MS O. 5. 7 p, f. 1r.

This is the long penflourish that extends from a capital and terminates in a finger-like terminus (Figure 2.35). Scott-Fleming has classified several types of thirteenth-century English *fleuronnée* style with regard to specific shapes.¹⁷⁵ One of the *fleuronnée* shapes that Scott-Fleming identifies as an early development is the ‘pointing finger fan’, illustrated in the example from Hereford Cathedral.¹⁷⁶ Scott-Fleming confines early components of *fleuronnée* to the first half of the thirteenth century. However, several of the *fleuronnée* shapes identified by Scott-Fleming can also be found in late twelfth-century examples from both England and France. Stirnemann suggests that these ‘pointing finger’ flourishes are associated with copies of the writings of Peter Lombard.¹⁷⁷ In this example they rather cautiously embellish the gloss that runs along the left hand margin of the Romanesque decorated initial. The pointing finger fan is an important component of more developed penwork flourishing in what can perhaps be called an Early English flourishing style (2.36).

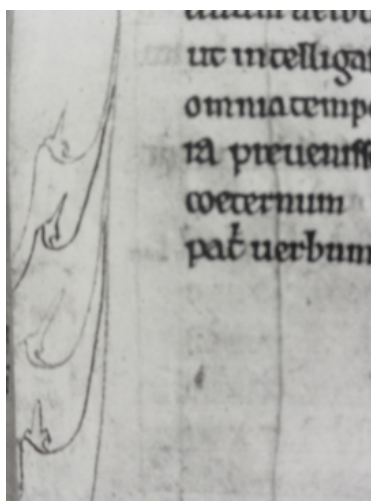


Figure 2.36: Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Library, MS O. 5. 7 p., f. 1r. (detail of ‘pointing fingers’)

¹⁷⁵. See Sonia Scott-Fleming, *Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts*, (Leiden: Brill, 1989), p. 60.

¹⁷⁶. For analysis of this specific shape, see Scott-Fleming, p. 60.

¹⁷⁷. See Stirnemann (1990), p. 61-62.

The presence of penflourishing in the Westminster Psalter (c. 1200 Westminster or St Albans) and the appearance of flourishing in books associated with Lincoln and Oxford from c. 1200 suggests that this time period sees the first shift towards the rise of flourished decoration in English manuscripts.¹⁷⁸ However, the type of flourishing that appears in both the Westminster Psalter and the examples from Lincoln and Oxford share little with regard to design with the *jeux des plume* structures that are on the rise in Italy and France. These flourishes seem to evolve organically from the elemental forms of penflourishing used to accentuate the tips of the inked minor initials. The form of the termini of these early examples of English flourishing show the clasps and fans that fix the initials to their space in the folio, finding new use at the end of trailing penwork extensions. The example from the calendar for October in the Westminster Psalter shows the development of a horizontal flourish to the illuminated KL (*kalends*) for October (Figure 2.37). This top margin flourish is symmetrical, with familiar Romanesque motifs used as termini.



Figure 2.37: London, BL, Royal MS 2 A. xxii, f. 9v.¹⁷⁹

There are examples of more developed flourishing throughout the Psalter, with the example on folio 66r. being the most complex (Figure 2.38). While this flourish does

¹⁷⁸ The Westminster Psalter, digitalized by the British Library is accessible via <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_2_a_xxii>.

See also ff. 69v., 83v., 89v., 91v., 114r., 115v., 127v., 143r. and 163v.

¹⁷⁹ See <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_2_a_xxii>.

emerge from a grotesque dragonhead, it shows no signs of a baseline, or of any segmentations.

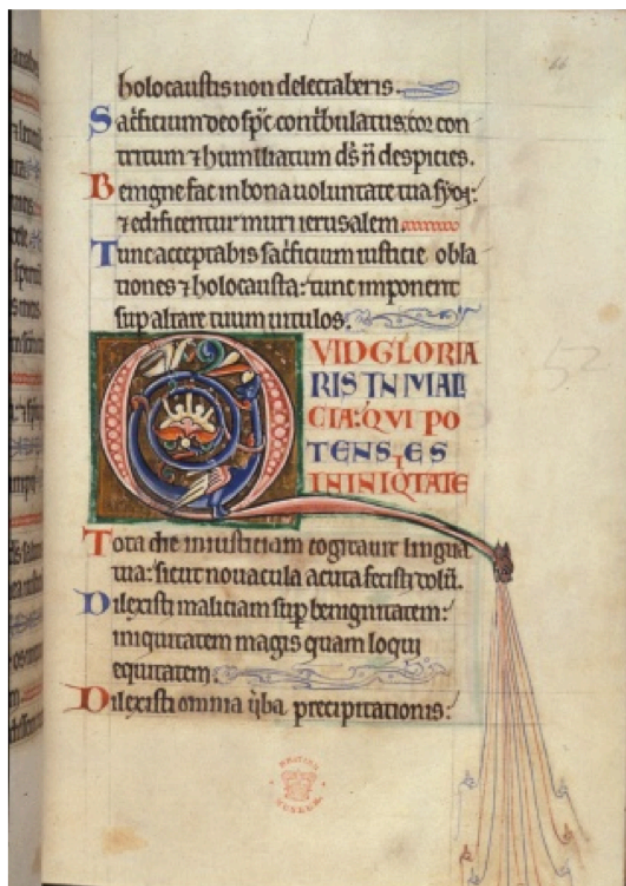


Figure 2.38: London, BL, Royal MS 2 A. xxii, f. 66r.

The late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Psalter, BL Harley MS 2905, also carries this type of early flourishing with pointing fingers used as termini. Morgan suggests that this perhaps Augustinian Psalter was made in Oxford c. 1200-1210.¹⁸⁰ The use of the pointing finger fan as part of the flourishing descending from the inked initial 'P' adds further confirmation for dating, and the loose construction of the flourish in conjunction with the pointing finger fan suggest the earlier, late twelfth century, as opposed to later date (Figure 2.39).

¹⁸⁰. See NJM, *EGM I*, p. 73. Morgan suggests that the same hand that provided the minor decoration for BL, Arundel MS 157, is also found in Harley MS 2905.



Figure 2.39: London, BL Harley MS 2905, f. 66v. (Psalm 51)

Another shape used to accentuate the corners of Romanesque initials is the 'extended fan'. Both the pointing finger fan and the extended fan shapes are developed towards the end of the twelfth century in England and France as components of more complex flourishing style.¹⁸¹ The extended fan can be seen in a simple application in this example from the Worksop Bestiary (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 81), made in England c. 1185 in possibly York or Lincoln (Figure 2.40).¹⁸²

¹⁸¹. For analysis of the 'extended fan' shape, see Scott-Fleming, p. 44.

¹⁸². A catalogue description, complete bibliography and further images of MS M. 81 are available at <<http://corsair.morganlibrary.org>>.

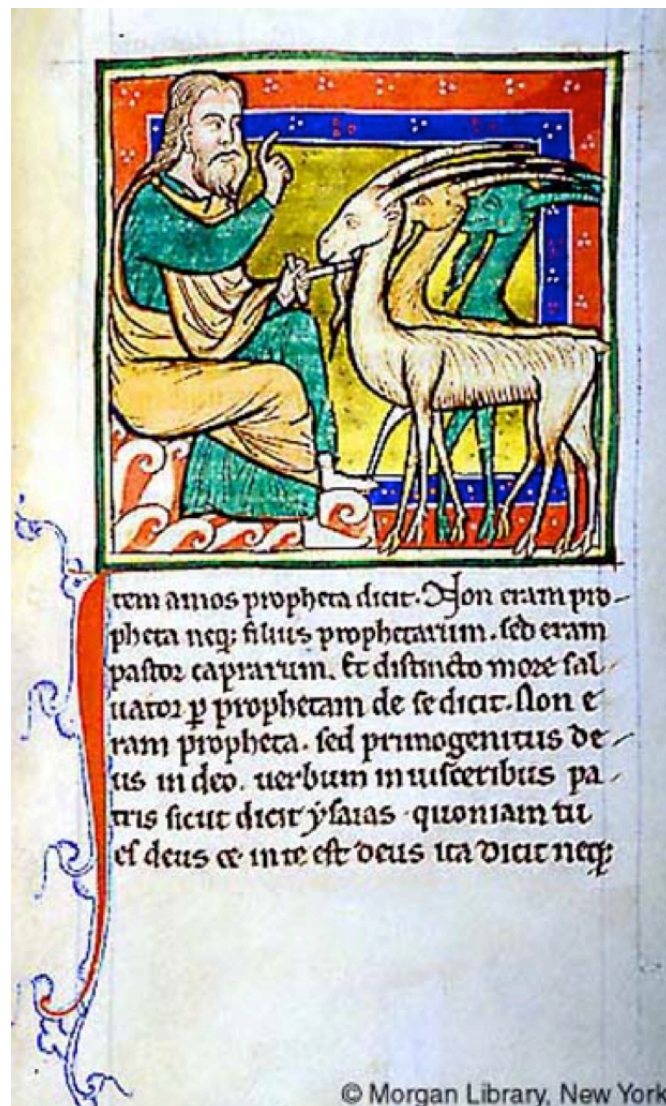


Figure 2.40: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 81, f. 68r.

The extended fan and the pointing finger shapes are both employed as termini in compressed flourishes as flourishing style evolves in England towards the end of the twelfth century. The Iona Psalter, probably made in Oxford, c. 1180-1220, also demonstrates the use of Romanesque shapes in the construction of flourishes that descend from some minor initials (Figure 2.41). Also present is a 'hairpin', another early component identified by Scott-Fleming. In this example, the presence of the 'hairpin' may indicate the later date for the Iona Psalter, early thirteenth as opposed

to late twelfth century. This shape is not an element of Romanesque decorative technique, but probably registers Parisian influence, as opposed to the continuation of an organic decorative style.



Figure 2.41: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 10000, f. 57v. (Copyright of the National Library of Scotland)

The following example from Lincoln Cathedral, MS 147, a Psalter with the Gloss of Peter Lombard, c. 1200, demonstrates the use of both pointing fingers and extended fans as termini, as well as the compressed structure of the flourish (Figure 2.42).¹⁸³

¹⁸³ For Lincoln Cathedral, MS 147, see Rodney M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989) pp. 113-14.

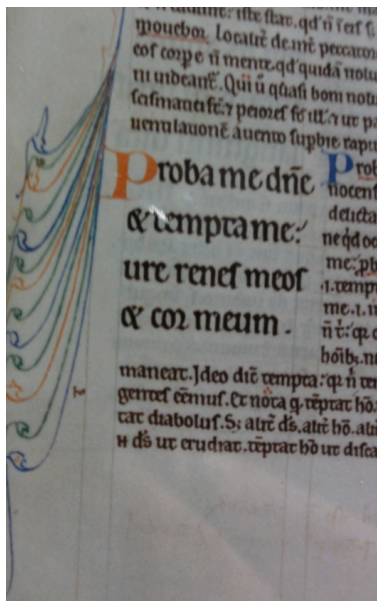


Figure 2.42: Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral, MS 147, f. 151v.

This flourisher develops extreme compression to the extent that the flourish is transformed into a shape that occupies the margin or *bas de page*. The two examples that follow show perhaps the furthest reaches of this compressed style (Figure 2.43 and 2.44).



Figure 2.43: Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral, MS 147, f. 96r.



Figure 2.44: Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral, MS 147, (folio number unsupplied)

This dense application of numbers of flourishing lines is a technique that is especially prominent in manuscripts produced in Oxford in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. It is possible that the Lincoln Peter Lombard was produced commercially in Oxford. Although Lincoln had a reputation for scholarship at the turn of the twelfth century, its library was modest and there is no evidence for a scriptorium within the realms of the cathedral itself.¹⁸⁴ Flourishing of this type is found in many examples from the Munich Psalter, which may have been produced in a commercial context in Oxford (Figure 2.45).¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴. See Thomson (1989), p. xv.

¹⁸⁵. Morgan discusses the stylistic similarities in the flourishing of Lincoln MS 147, the Munich Psalter and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 10 in his introduction to the facsimile of the Munich Psalter, *The Munich Golden Psalter; Clm 835, Bavarian State Library Munich* (Luzerne: Quaternio Verlag), 2011, pp. 240-41. Figs. 56-58. Images are reproduced from the facsimile.

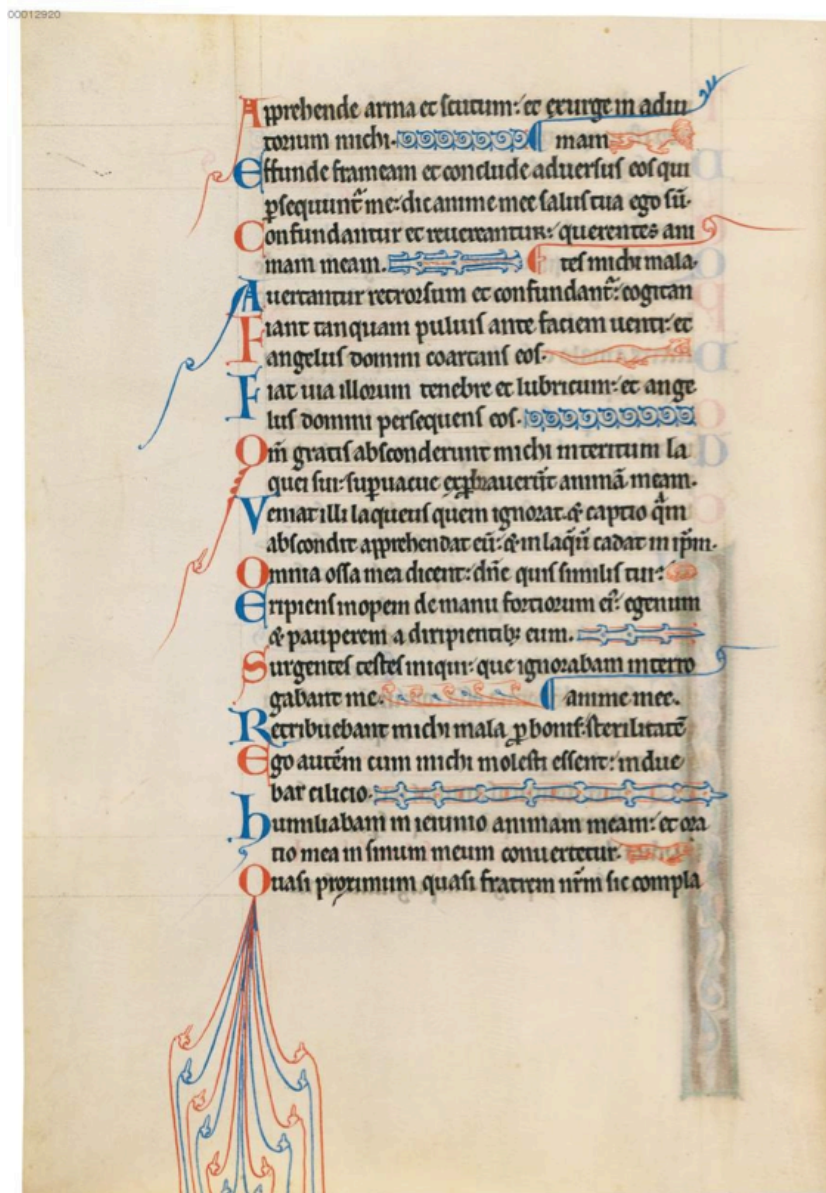


Figure 2.45: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 835, f. 43r.

The example above from the Munich Psalter shows the use of the pointing finger shape. That below shows the use of the extended fan in the *bas de page* flourish and the pointing finger, in what Rodney Thomson has called a ‘streamer’ extending from the capital ‘Q’s’, about two-thirds of the way down the left hand margin (Figure 2.46).¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ See Thomson, p. 114.

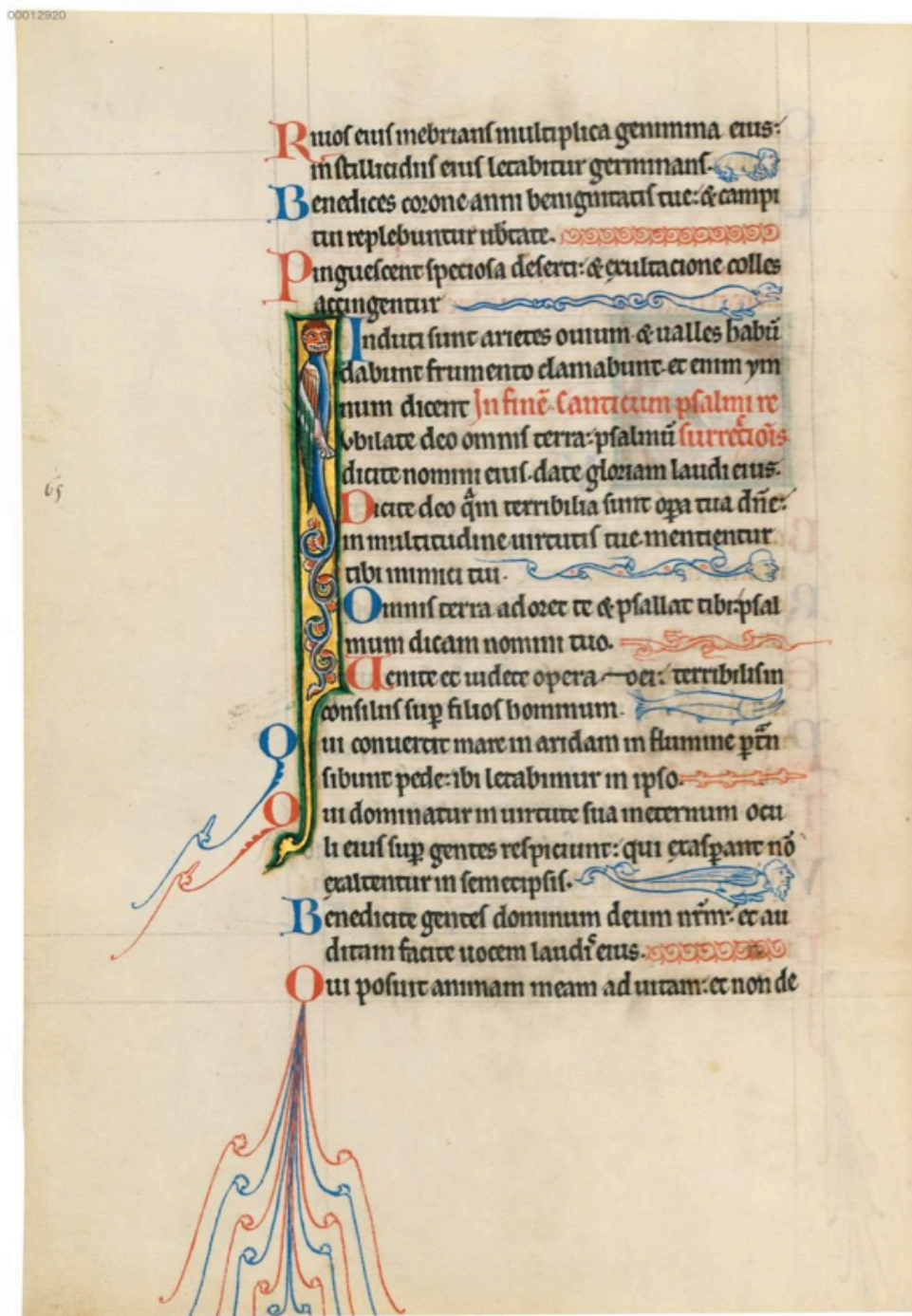


Figure 2.46: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 835, f. 51r.

The pointing finger fan is used in the connecting blue stroke of the pen from the capital 'A' in the following example, as the flourish resolves into a dense shape punctuated by extended fans (Figure 2.47).

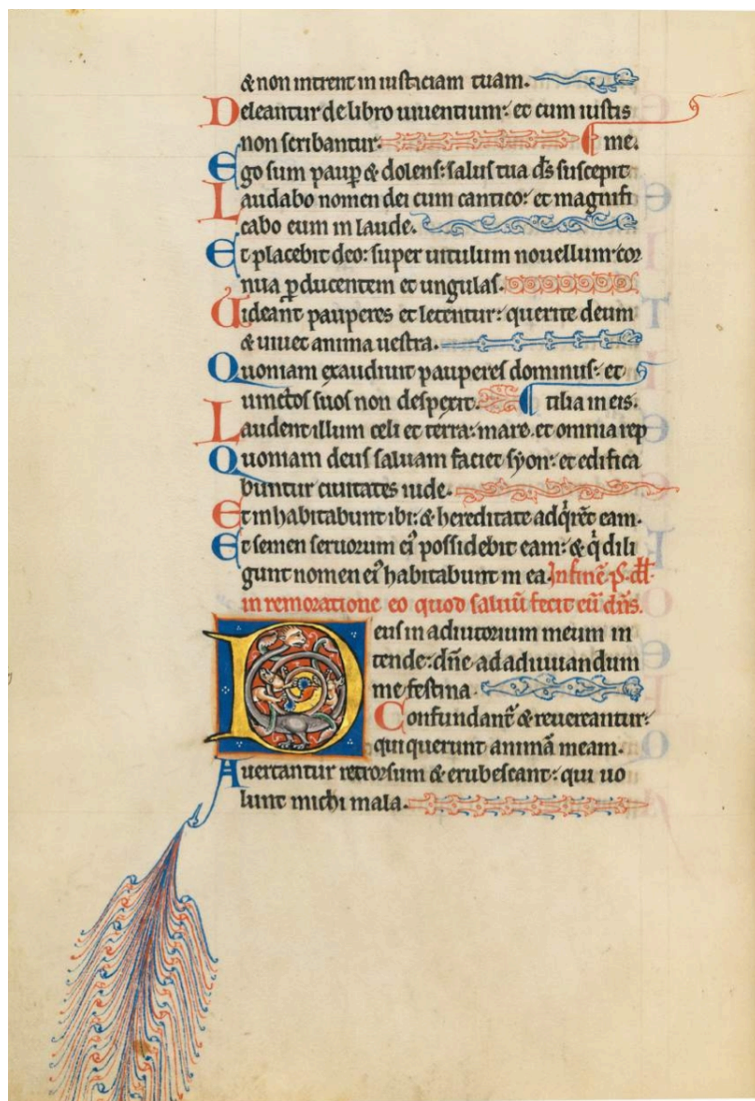


Figure 2.47: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 835, f. 82r.

Even though the Munich Psalter flourisher compresses the flourish and adds to its volume with a multiplicity of penstrokes, the shapes used to make the flourish are English Romanesque staples of decorative forms. The innovations from Bologna and Parisian commercial shops have not been adopted by these early thirteenth-century English book producers. There is the possibility that these makers of manuscripts had seen versions of the new continental styles and were interpreting them in a regional context. But their decorative vocabulary has not changed even if there is more

emphasis on marginal embellishment. Patricia Stirnemann's observation that:

..ornament tends to begin simply and become more and more complicated, whereupon it is reformed and simplified, having imploded under the weight of its own proliferation.¹⁸⁷

seems to describe the progression of English flourishing with accuracy. This compressed style, as represented in the Munich Psalter and Lincoln Cathedral 147, is the final manifestation of what may be termed an Early English style. The English style evolves from the techniques associated with the decoration of the Romanesque initial. The lines that emanate from the initials in the Romanesque period are punctuated firstly by tendrils and clasps that extend tentatively from the letter. By the end of the twelfth century these extensions from the letter begin to exhibit punctuation points in the form of extended fans and pointing finger fans. There is a trend towards compression of these penwork lines in the first few decades of the century in Oxford manuscripts, and then the form disappears from view. It is as Stirnemann describes; the compression of the form has led to its extinction.

Oxford is the best documented source of luxury book production to survive from the thirteenth century in England, and the examples that survive from the first quarter of the thirteenth century indicate that the enthusiasm for compressed flourishes that are present in the Munich Psalter fell out of favour. Their extreme compression left little room for further innovation. BL Arundel MS 157, completed possibly in Oxford in the first few decades of the thirteenth century, has been attributed to Hand B of the Munich Psalter (Figure 2.48).¹⁸⁸ Unlike the penwork

¹⁸⁷ Patricia Stirnemann, 'Dating, Placing and Illumination', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 11(2008), 155-166 (p. 157).

¹⁸⁸ See NJM, *EGM I*, pp. 49, 69, 77, 81, 89, 126, 178, and 186. For further images and bibliography see <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8762&CollID=20&NStart=157>>.

flourishing in the Munich Psalter, there is no marginal penwork in Arundel 157. This is a luxury Psalter, and should the patron have desired the elaborate penflourishing evident in the Munich Psalter, this would have certainly been available. Although Arundel 157 has blue and red line fillers, they are related to Romanesque, not Parisian or Italian penwork forms. The line fillers often take the form of elongated grotesques or more naturalistic drawings. The central designs of Romanesque penwork are also present in the horizontal form of the line filler. The example below shows the use of open fans amongst curling tendrils, as well as waves and elongated grotesques.

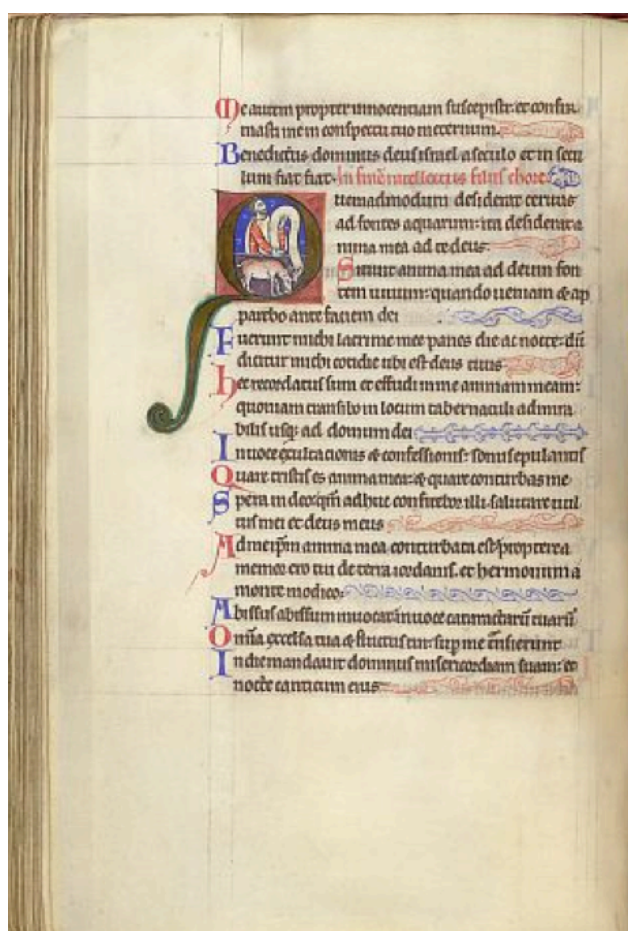


Figure 2.48: London, BL, Arundel MS 157, f. 45v.

The Lothian Bible (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 0791)¹⁸⁹ and the Huntingfield Psalter (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 0043)¹⁹⁰ are important examples of luxury book production in the first quarter of the thirteenth century in Oxford. Both have been associated with the figure style of the mid-century, particularly with that of William de Brailes. While it might be expected to see a further development of flourishing as a decorative component in these two books, the opposite is the case. Neither book carries significant flourishing. The slightly earlier Lothian Bible, made *c.* 1220, uses twelfth-century decorative methods. This Bible is consistent with the format of the giants of the twelfth century. Flourishing makes rare appearances clinging to minor initials, but it has little to do with the *mise-en-page* of the book. The Huntingfield Psalter similarly uses Romanesque decorative vocabulary. Intricate line fillers, dragon extensions from ornamental capitals and historiated initials all feature here but marginal flourishing does not appear at all. There is a sense of rejection of the Early English style that may have worked in the favour of the new forms emanating from the Continent. The empty margins of luxury liturgical books produced in Oxford in the first decades of the thirteenth century may have created the perfect environment for the adoption of a new form of decorative embellishment.

Evidence of the influence of Italian *jeux de plume* style and the use of *prolongations à l'italienne* begins to appear in less sophisticated manuscripts produced possibly in Oxford in the first decades of the thirteenth century. Bodleian

¹⁸⁹. A complete bibliography and a good selection of images of the Lothian Bible are accessible at: <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=2&ti=1,2&Search%5FArg=lothian%20bible&Search%5FCode=GKEY%5E&CNT=50&PID=9bg27cjuHg0mcezzNIPNnYQ_R6Z&SEQ=20140407164140&SID=1>.

¹⁹⁰. For the Huntingfield Psalter see: <<http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=1&ti=1,1&Search%5FArg=huntingfield%20psalter&Search%5FCode=GKEY%5E&CNT=50&PID=vOg0G4N99YzRKUPP077R1Z8WRn&SEQ=20140407164917&SID=1>>.

Library Douce 218, a copy of the *Decretum*, c. 1210-20, demonstrates both the use of compressed Early English flourishing and the inclusion of Italianesque *bas de page* work.¹⁹¹

The book, produced in England in the first decades of the thirteenth century, opens with a *bas de page prolongation à l'italienne* complete with grotesque spouting head in profile, an embroidered baseline, symmetrical red and blue flourishes and a terminus in the shape of a head of barley (Figure 2.49).



Figure 2.49: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 218, f. 1r.

The Bolognese methodology is almost exact in this English copy of the core text of the Bolognese law school. The verso of this first folio shows an interesting hybrid in the *bas de page*. The descender from the small capital 'S' resolves into a compressed Early English type of flourish, using open fans to punctuate the symmetrical

¹⁹¹. I thank Nigel Morgan for bringing this manuscript to my attention. See Morgan (2012), pp. 67-69. See also Otto Pächt and Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: British, Irish and Icelandic Schools*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), no. 343, p. 33.

flourishes. The shape does however also carry a Bolognese head of barley as a central terminus. While the flourish does not have a fully formed embroidered baseline, the central line is marked through with lines, giving it an implied baseline (Figure 2.50).

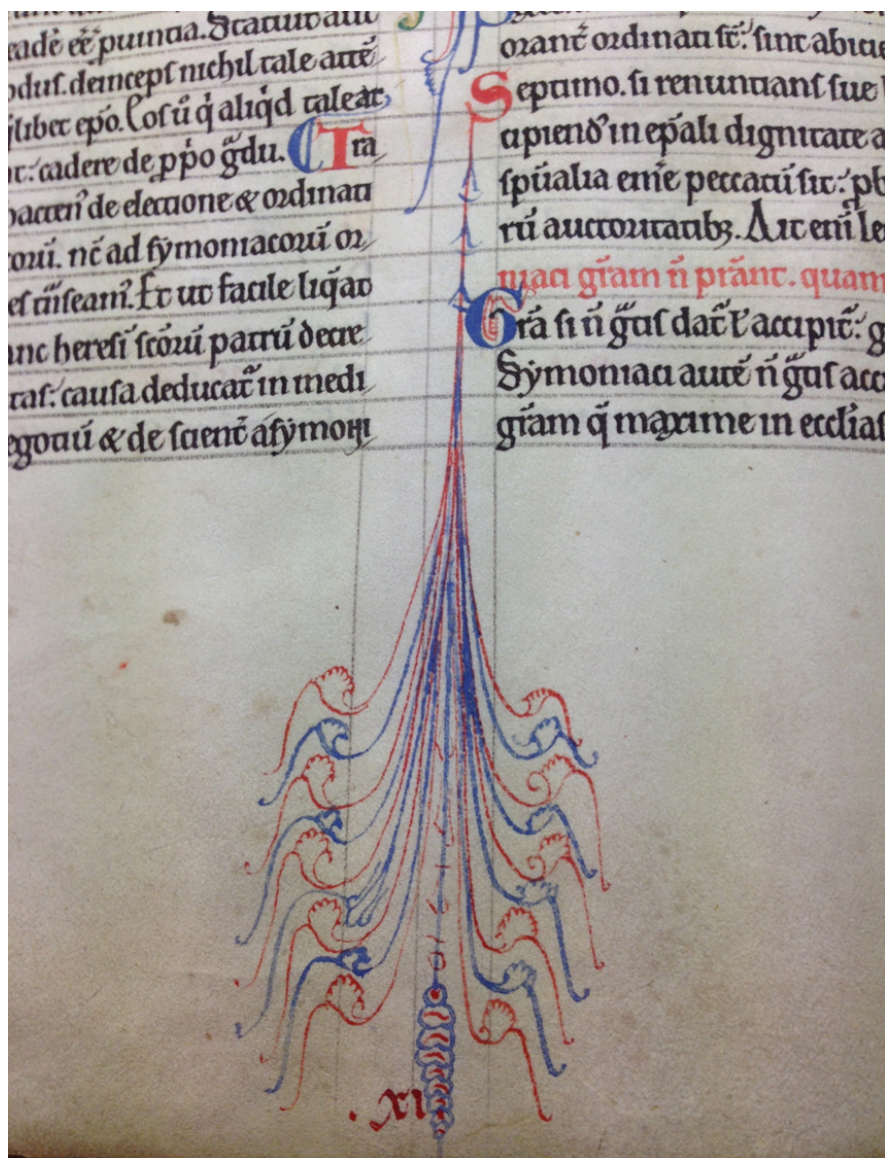


Figure 2.50: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 218, f. 1v.

The scribe also makes a rather unsuccessful attempt to imitate Bolognese red and blue incipit capitals (Figure 2.51).



Figure 2.51: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 218, f. 3r.

Bodleian Library, Bodley 284, a Psalter with the gloss of Alexander of Neckham, c. 1210-20 also demonstrates clear influence from Italian sources interpreted in an English context.¹⁹² Folio 132r shows a *prolongation à l'italienne* in the *bas de page*, complete with embroidered baseline and spouting grotesque head, and the historiated initial has a Bolognese-style red and blue incipit with a red carpet fringe, *à la Bolognese* on the right hand side. The inclusion also of the long segmented flourish in the left hand margin, descending from the minor initial 'Q', constructed of open fans and 'hairpins', suggests a frame for the folio. This example shows a transitional moment in which the Romanesque techniques of the open fan

¹⁹² For Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 284 see Ker (1964), p. 52 and Pächt and Alexander (1973), no. 359, p. 79.

and pointing finger will be utilised in the execution of the new forms. This aspect of penflourished embellishment will be the core development of *mise-en-page* as the thirteenth century proceeds (Figure 2.52).



Figure 2.52: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley, 284, f. 132r.

This chapter has demonstrated that the flourishing style that was developed in late twelfth-century Bologna, associated with legal texts central to the study of the law, quickly migrated to other centres for legal study. The new style of *jeux de plume* decoration to the *bas de page* of the text was copied in a variety of formats, and luxury Parisian productions from the beginning of the thirteenth century in Paris,

particularly the Lewis Psalter and the Psalter of Jeanne de Navarre, show that Italian style had strong influence in the realm of commercial books produced for secular patrons. Italian style is slower to be adopted in England, and Romanesque penwork decoration of books persisted well into the first decades of the thirteenth century. The specific characteristics of embellishment to minor initials in the form of clasps and fans were developed as the twelfth century drew to a close, with the extension of long lines from the minor initials that terminated in either the open fan or pointing finger fan shapes. These elements contrast sharply with the elements of Bolognese *jeux de plume* style, characterized by an insistent straight horizontal or vertical orientation, and embellished by distinctive Bolognese traits such as embroidered baselines, roundheads, and heads of barley. The appearance of these traits can be used as markers for the progression of Italian style on manuscript decoration as the thirteenth century proceeds. The next chapter will demonstrate the influence of Italian style on the most prolific illuminator of thirteenth-century Oxford, William de Brailes. The empty space of the *bas de page* in luxury books in the first decades of the thirteenth century may have suggested fertile ground to the inventive imagination of William de Brailes.

Chapter 3

W. de Brailes me fecit: Penflourishing in the circle of William de Brailes

In the last chapter an Early English style for flourishing was identified in manuscripts produced in England c. 1180-1220. It was proposed that this style developed from elements of Romanesque embellishment to minor initials, and that the forms that characterize the development of this style evolved organically from these elements, apart from the influence of Italian style. Examples of manuscripts produced in Oxford show the maturation of this flourishing style, which was based on the dense application of flourished penwork lines, sometimes so closely packed that they suggest a shape in the margins of the books. It was also noted that manuscripts produced in Oxford which may have been more closely associated with the University, the *Decretum* and the Psalter with the Gloss of Alexander of Neckham, show the influence of Bolognese style, with the use of *prolongations à l'italienne* originating from grotesque heads, and the adoption of red and blue incipits with blue fringed carpet borders. The absence of the use of this flourishing style was also noted in significant manuscripts produced in the first quarter of the century, its absence perhaps signalling a stylistic choice by the makers and/or the patrons of the books.

In this chapter the flourishing style of the surviving manuscripts from Oxford's best-known thirteenth-century illuminator, William de Brailes will be examined. There are more surviving examples from the de Brailes group than from any other circle of illuminators in England from the thirteenth century, sixteen manuscripts (including groups of leaves) in total. The works of the Sarum Master,

based possibly in Salisbury, and the manuscripts from the William of Devon group, most probably also produced in Oxford, will be examined in Chapter 4, but de Brailes surpasses these two groups with regard to the number of extant works. If it is possible to equate the success of a circle of book artisans associated primarily with one individual to the number of manuscripts that survive from that circle, then William de Brailes is a case in point. The evidence of the surviving de Brailes manuscripts attests to the commercial acumen and skill of this individual. The number of extant manuscripts associated with de Brailes makes it possible to divide the books by type and to observe differences in flourishing with regard to the intended purpose of the book. De Brailes manuscripts can be divided into three groups with regard to the penwork style employed on the various products. All three styles will be examined here, but I will suggest that it is de Brailes' use of Italian techniques for the most luxurious products that has a significant impact on decorative style for books produced concurrently and subsequently in Oxford. Both the Oscott Psalter and the Rutland Psalter will be examined for evidence of influence with regard to Italian style, and it will be suggested that the Rutland Psalter demonstrates close repetition of the flourishing style used by de Brailes in the New College Psalter, the Stockholm Psalter and the de Brailes Book of Hours.

Defining the corpus

Before examining the penwork in the de Brailes group, the development of the corpus will be discussed. The large number of survivals from the de Brailes circle allows us to examine the books by type and to draw conclusions about the patrons that required them. Both of these subjects will be discussed in advance of analysis of the penwork content of the corpus, as not only differentiation according to type and

intended purpose for the books, but the implied patrons as well are significant elements in the choice of flourishing applied to the books in question.

The coincidence of Graham Pollard's discovery of William de Brailes in the municipal records of the city of Oxford, and Sydney Cockerell's earlier discovery of the colophons of W. de Brailes have made de Brailes and his oeuvre the subject of much academic attention in the twentieth century. De Brailes is indeed still the only named illuminator to emerge from thirteenth-century Oxford securely connected to a body of work, although his neighbour, Reginald, has been proposed as the illuminator of a group of glossed Bibles in the British Library, Royal MSS 3 E. i-v and viii by virtue of a marginal note in Royal MS 3 E. v.¹⁹³ This attribution is as yet in the realm of speculation.¹⁹⁴ The work of Pollard on the book-producing community in thirteenth-century Oxford unearthed the names of fourteen illuminators working in the environs of the Church of Saint Mary, on Catte Street and the High, throughout the century.¹⁹⁵ The tantalizing names of Job, Hugh, Walter, Peter, John and many others including women who use the surname of 'illuminator' in the documents of the city of Oxford, have not yet been discovered in any surviving manuscripts from thirteenth-century Oxford.¹⁹⁶

Identification of the manuscripts produced by William de Brailes and his

¹⁹³ See Christopher de Hamel's attribution in *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd edn. (London: Phaidon, 1994, repr. 2005), p. 141. See also Michael A. Michael's attribution to Reginald in 'Urban Production of Manuscript Books and the Role of University Towns' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 2: 1100-1400*, ed. by Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 168-94.

¹⁹⁴ The attribution for BL Royal MSS 3 E. i-v and viii will be discussed in Chapter 4, pp. 68-82.

¹⁹⁵ See Henry Graham Pollard, *Notes for a Directory of Cat Street* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984). See also the Bodleian Library Pollard Archive, MS Pollard 168 and Michael A. Michael, 'English Illuminators c. 1190-1450: A Survey from Documentary Sources', *English Manuscript Studies*, 4 (1993), 62-113.

¹⁹⁶ See Pollard as above. Morgan divides the book-making community investigated by Pollard and Michael into four generations of artisans; see the commentary volume for *Leaves from a Psalter by William de Brailes* (London: Folio Society, 2012), Appendix 1, pp. 75-85.

circle has been an evolving process spanning most of the twentieth century. Sydney Cockerell's initial identification of de Brailes was an exceptional find in the context of medieval art. Cockerell identified de Brailes' self-portrait and accompanying colophon in a manuscript he first saw in Munich in 1906.¹⁹⁷ This book, the best-known work of de Brailes, is now held by the British Library (London, BL, Add. MS 49999).¹⁹⁸ It is described as the first known English Book of Hours, although that identification is the subject of debate (Figure 3.1).¹⁹⁹

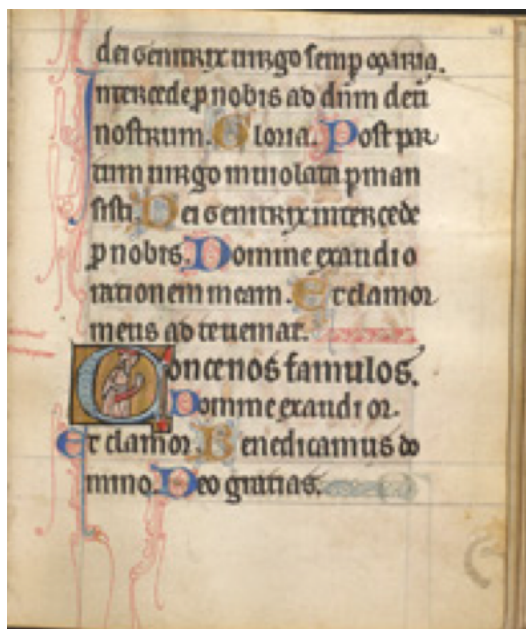


Figure 3.1: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 43r.

Cockerell recognized the hand of de Brailes in the New College Psalter (Oxford: New College, MS 322) in 1908,²⁰⁰ and then again, somewhat miraculously, in Psalm

¹⁹⁷ See William Noel's note on this encounter in *The Oxford Bible Pictures from the Walters Art Museum* (Luzern: Facsimile Verlag Luzern, 2004) p. 39.

¹⁹⁸ See NJM, *EGM I*, cat. 73. See also Claire Donovan's detailed examination of BL Add. MS 49999 in *The de Brailes Hours; Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth Century Oxford* (London: British Library, 1991), pp. 24-25, where she argues that the book was made for a specific female patron named Susanna.

¹⁹⁹ Peter Kidd has an article forthcoming in the eBLJ (British Library online journal) in which he suggests that the de Brailes Hours was produced in fact as a Psalter–Hours. He also argues that the book is not in its original binding, but in an Italian binding of the fifteenth century.

²⁰⁰ Both of these manuscripts, London, BL, Add. MS 49999 and Oxford, New College, MS 322, were

109 in a Psalter which he subsequently purchased from Sotheby's in 1909. This manuscript is now held at the National Museum in Stockholm, MS B. 2010.²⁰¹ In 1955, Pollard discovered a William de Brailes in five documents associated with the city of Oxford.²⁰² Although Pollard notes that de Brailes is never named as an illuminator in any of the documents, he is listed among other illuminators who signed the documents, and his place of residence was in the thick of the book-producing community that surrounded the Church of St Mary the Virgin. The fact that de Brailes is not identified by occupational surname is not unusual in the documents. Pollard identifies other witnesses to deeds as illuminators who bear descriptive or locational names such as Robert de Derby whom Pollard finds elsewhere identified as an illuminator.²⁰³ Other members of associated trades carry occupational surnames such as Thomas Scriptor, a scribe who lived among the book-making community, apart from the scribes clustered around Holywell Street.²⁰⁴ De Brailes seems to be a prominent member of the community. His name appears as the witness to several property deeds. De Brailes, along with his wife, Celena, is also found receiving a fee for involvement in the settlement of a dispute over land in the

exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1908. See Sydney Cockerell, *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1908). For the Oxford, New College, MS 322 see NJM, *EGM I*, pp. 121-23. For Cockerell's identification of the New College Psalter as a de Brailes work see Noel, 2004, pp. 39-50.

²⁰¹. See Noel, 2004, for discussion of Cockerell's role in the identification of de Brailes, p. 39. For Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010 see NJM, *EGM I*, pp. 113-14, no. 68, Noel, pp. 39, 43, 48-51, and Morgan (2011), pp. 216, 221, and 225.

²⁰². See Henry Graham Pollard, 'William de Brailes,' *The Bodleian Library Record*, 5.4 (1955), 202-29. See Donovan's transcription of these documents in *The de Brailes Hours*, Appendix 5, 206-07. These documents record de Brailes as a witness in three property transfers, in 1230, 1238 and between Michaelmas 1245 and Michaelmas 1246. De Brailes and his wife, Celena, also receive recompense of four and a half marks for releasing their share in a property in another parish (St Peter le Bailey) in 1252. Two further documents point to de Brailes as the occupant of a property on Catte Street c. 1247 by citing de Brailes' holding in identifying the location of a property that stands between that of de Brailes and John Curci. (*inter tenementum Iohannnis Curci et tenementum Willelmo de Breiles*) *Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford*, ed. H. E. Salter, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1920), I, 70, p. 329.

²⁰³. See Pollard, 'William de Brailes' *The Bodleian Library Record*, 5.4 (1955), 202-209.

²⁰⁴. *Ibid*, p. 209.

parish of St Peter le Bailey. William Noel makes the point that this highly unusual component of de Brailes' art, that is his self-identification as the maker of two surviving manuscripts and his presence in the physical records, enables the art historian to research de Brailes using a 'modernist' approach. Noel writes:

The splendid expedition started by Cockerell to uncover the work of a single named artist over the last century is necessarily atypical of medieval art historical scholarship. The signed works by de Brailes have allowed the medievalist to act like a modernist, and to carve out an oeuvre for a documented person.²⁰⁵

While de Brailes does name himself as the painter of his self-portraits, his books contain the work of a diverse group of additional artists that supplied illuminations, as well as other decorative elements, such as penflourishing and line fillers. Thus de Brailes may lay claim to his portrait, and that identification may imply both pious and commercial aspirations, but his book was the product of many hands. Although de Brailes did not apply all of the decorative components present in his books, as the lead artist he most certainly was involved in decisions regarding the type of decorative penwork used for the various productions.

Cockerell was fortunate enough to discover the de Brailes colophons in the Book of Hours (*W de rail' q' me de peint*, f. 43r) at the opening of the prayer of the Virgin for *Terce* (followed by another self-portrait at the close of *Sext* of the Virgin) and on leaf 3 of the loose leaves which comprise MS 330 in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (*W DE BRAIL' ME FECIT*).²⁰⁶ Cockerell's additional identification of

²⁰⁵. Noel, 2004, p. 50.

²⁰⁶. Lilian M. C. Randall suggests that the blue-cloaked figure in the Judgment leaf of the Walters' Bible Pictures (B 23r, Figure 33 in Noel, 2004, p. 8) is an additional de Brailes self-portrait. See 'En Route to Salvation with William de Brailes', *Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature and Translation: Studies for Keith Val Sinclair*, ed. by Peter R. Monks and David D. R. Owen (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 83-94.

de Brailes' work in the Stockholm Psalter was through stylistic comparison of the illuminations. Further identifications of de Brailes' manuscripts have been achieved by analysis that has included figure style as well as decorative components as integral to that identification. Clare Donovan describes the commercial 'house style' of de Brailes as an 'accomplished and tightly controlled decorative style' that features 'rich pigments and plenty of gold leaf'.²⁰⁷ Noel's paraphrase of Cockerell's original description highlights the distinctive components of de Brailes' figurative style:

... tightly drawn noses, wide-open eyes, straight mouths, and short upper lips; devils fringed with waist bands or kilts; crowns that are sometimes rectangular, like polo caps; a wave-like treatment of solid earth; the bold handling of crowds; scrolls and inscriptions in Latin and French; and a good deal of blue pigment with vermillion.²⁰⁸

Peter Brieger's description of de Brailes' style as 'neat and well proportioned...The tightly modelled, wide-eyed faces and precise gestures express the appropriate emotions in a simple, direct manner' pinpoints the essence of de Brailes' narrative efficacy and vibrant yet controlled drawing style (Figure 3.2).²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷. Donovan, p. 12.

²⁰⁸. Noel, p. 41. For Cockerell's original description of de Brailes' style see *The Work of W. de Brailes, an English Illuminator of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1930), p. 5.

²⁰⁹. Peter Brieger, *English Art: 1216-1307*, ed. by T. S. R. Boase, *The Oxford History of English Art Series*, IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, reprn. 1968), pp. 88-89.



Figure 3.2: London, Gray's Inn, MS 24, f. 305v.(Maccabees II).

In her 1991 monograph on the Book of Hours, Donovan lists seven manuscripts that are securely attributed to de Brailes.²¹⁰ In addition to the Book of Hours, the Stockholm Psalter, the New College Psalter, and the Cambridge (Fitzwilliam) and Pierpont Morgan (MS M. 913) leaves, Donovan includes Oxford, Bodleian Library MS lat. bibl. e .7, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 350/567, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS 106 and Paris, Wildenstein Collection, Musée Marmottan (considered as two parts of one manuscript) as belonging to the de Brailes group. As Noel points out, both the Bodleian Library Bible, purchased by C.W. Dyson Perrins in 1915, and the de Brailes Bible now held by the Perth Art Museum and Gallery in Scotland (MS 462) were known to Cockerell before he published his work on de Brailes in 1930.²¹¹ In 1931, Hanns Swarzenski identified

²¹⁰ Donovan, Appendix 4, nos. 15-21, pp. 202-03.

²¹¹ See Noel, 40, where he describes the purchase of the Bodleian Bible by Dyson Perrins in February of 1915 from the antiquarian bookseller Leo Olschki. Noel also notes that Cockerell was aware of the de Brailes Bible now in Perth, Scotland, through a reproduction in a 1912 catalogue

the leaves in the Walters as belonging to the de Brailes group (these were bought by Henry Walters from the Parisian bookseller Léon Gruel in 1903).²¹² In 1937, Eric Millar of the British Museum identified the seven leaves in the collection of George Wildenstein in Paris as belonging to the same set of miniatures held by the Walters. Given Sydney Cockerell's track record with regard to the discovery of de Brailes' works, his comments in a letter to Dorothy Miner on the affirmation of the Walters leaves as the work of de Brailes are perhaps unsurprising:

There is not the smallest doubt that those pictures are by de Brailes, a notable addition to the series which you and Hanns Swarzenski must hasten to publish... had been thinking it high time for another piece of de Brailes to turn up.²¹³

In 2004, the Walters and Wildenstein leaves were reproduced together in one volume.²¹⁴ The leaf acquired by the Pierpont Morgan Museum in New York in 1963 belongs with the seven leaves that are held by the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.²¹⁵ These leaves from the Fitzwilliam and the Pierpont Morgan have also recently been published together in facsimile.²¹⁶

Cockerell's original corpus of de Brailes' works published in 1930 was composed of six manuscripts. Since the addition of the Morgan leaf to the corpus in

produced by J. and J. Leighton. (*Catalogue of Manuscripts, mostly illuminated*, Offered for sale by J. and J. Leighton, 40 Brewer Street, London). See also Sydney Cockerell, *The Work of W. de Brailes, an English Illuminator of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1930).

²¹² See Noel, pp. 9-12, for a description of the original purchase and the later correspondence between Swarzenski and Lilian Randall, and Dorothy Miner and Sydney Cockerell on the discovery of the Bible pictures on the shelves of Walters' collection and their confirmation as the work of de Brailes by Cockerell.

²¹³ See Noel, 11. Original quotation in the W. 106 curatorial file, letter, Sydney Cockerell to Dorothy Miner, 19th March, 1937.

²¹⁴ See William Noel, *The Oxford Bible Pictures MS W.106, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, and the Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris* (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 2004).

²¹⁵ See NJM, *EGM 1*, 1982, cat. 72b.

²¹⁶ The Folio Society published these leaves on vellum with a commentary volume by Morgan. See *Leaves from a Psalter by William de Brailes* (London: Folio Society, 2012).

1963, there have been ten de Brailes finds. The group of manuscripts that was identified as de Brailes products by Adelaide Bennett in her unpublished PhD thesis for Columbia University in 1973 swelled the ranks significantly.²¹⁷ Bennett identified six Bibles that she considered at least partly illuminated by de Brailes.²¹⁸ Morgan included a comprehensive list of de Brailes' Bibles in *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1*, (1982) for his entry on the Bodleian Library MS lat. bibl. e. 7.²¹⁹ Oxford, Christ Church, MS 105, was a new addition to the corpus by Morgan in this entry.²²⁰ In 1987, François Avril and Patricia Stirnemann attributed two historiated initials in a Lives of the Saints in the BNF (Paris: BNF, MS fr. 19525) to the 'atelier' of William de Brailes.²²¹ Nearly a decade later, in 1996, Michael Camille suggested that a University Aristotle in the Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Borghesiana 58, contained three miniatures by de Brailes.²²² Camille suggests that this book was produced c. 1230, early both in the career of de Brailes and also in the introduction of the teaching of Aristotle at Oxford. Most recently, in 2007, Peter Kidd identified a Bible in the British Library, Harley MS 2813, as a de Brailes book produced for a Franciscan patron which includes the use of a marginal indexing system of symbols originally devised by Robert Grosseteste.²²³

²¹⁷ See Adelaide Bennett, 'The Place of Garrett 28 in Thirteenth-Century English Illumination' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1973).

²¹⁸ Bennett lists the manuscripts as: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 350; Philadelphia, Free Library, MS Lewis E. 29; York, Cathedral Library, MS XVI. N. 6; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud lat. 13; London, Gray's Inn, MS 24; and Oxford, Merton College, MS 7.

²¹⁹ The Bibles are listed as: London, Gray's Inn MS 24; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud lat. 13; Oxford, Merton College MS 7; Perth, Scotland, Perth Art Museum and Gallery, MS 462; Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 29; and the Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lat. bibl. e. 7; and Oxford, Christ Church, MS 105.

²²⁰ See NJM, *EGM I*, p. 115.

²²¹ See F. Avril and P. Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque nationale d'origine insulaire, VI^e-XX^e siècle* (Paris, BNF, 1987), no. 107, pp. 67-68. <http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/consulter/manuscrit/detail_manuscrit.php?projet=45875>.

²²² See Michael Camille, 'An Oxford University Textbook illuminated by William de Brailes', *The Burlington Magazine*, 37 (1995), 292-99.

²²³ See Peter Kidd, 'A Franciscan Bible Illuminated in the Style of William de Brailes', *eBritish*

The following table shows the progression of the identification of de Brailles manuscripts from Cockerell's first publication of the canon of six manuscripts in 1930 to Donovan's listing of the corpus in 1991. There is considerable discrepancy between the conclusions of Bennett and Morgan and those of Donovan.

Manuscripts or leaves containing work of William de Brailles. Progression of identification.

MSS. or leaves	Cockerell 1930	Bennett 1973	Morgan 1982	Donovan 1991
London BL, MS Add. 49999	✓	✓	✓	✓
Oxford, New College, MS 322	✓	✓	✓	✓
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 330	✓	✓	✓	✓
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. bibl. e. 7	✓	✓	✓	✓
Stockholm, National Museum, MS B 2010	✓	✓	✓	✓
Perth Museum and Art Gallery, Scotland, MS 462	✓	✓	✓	
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS 106		✓	✓	✓
Paris, Wildenstein Collection, Musée Marmottan		✓	✓	✓
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 913		✓	✓	✓
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud lat 13		✓	✓	
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 350/567		✓	✓	✓
York Cathedral Library, MS XVI. N. 6		✓	✓	
London, Gray's Inn, MS 24		✓	✓	
Philadelphia, Free Library, MS Lewis E 29		✓	✓	

Oxford, Merton College, MS 7		✓	✓	
Oxford, Christ Church, MS 105			✓	

The following three manuscripts have been added individually to the de Brailes corpus by the art historians noted at the top of the columns.

MSS.	Avril and Stirnemann 1987	Camille 1995	Kidd 2007
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 19525	✓		
Vatican City, BAV 58		✓	
London, BL, MS Harley 2813			✓

In Appendix II of his commentary volume on the Fitzwilliam and Morgan leaves printed on vellum by the Folio Society, Morgan gives a list of the de Brailes corpus, as well as a list of manuscripts from c. 1190-1230 that inform de Brailes' figurative style.²²⁴ In his listing of the corpus Morgan includes the leaves and initials separated from the Tregaskis Bible, (Philadelphia, Free Library, Lewis E 29).²²⁵

²²⁴. See Morgan (2012), pp. 86-98.

²²⁵. Morgan (2012), p. 94. See Christopher de Hamel, *Gilding the Lilly: A Hundred Medieval and Illuminated Manuscripts in the Lilly Library* (Indiana: The Lilly Library, 2010) and William Noel, 'Some Transatlantic Trials of W. de Brailes', in *The Medieval Book: Glosses from Friends and Colleagues of Christopher de Hamel*, ed by J.H. Marrow, R.A. Linenthal and W.Noel (Houten: HES and de Graaf, 2010), pp. 441-45. De Hamel lists the known parts of the Tregaskis Bible as: London Private Collection 1: Genesis 19-27; Lilly Library, Ricketts III, 53, f. 1: Numbers 18-21; London, Private Collection 1: Deuteronomy 1-3, 15-22 and 26-34, Joshua 3-9 and 12-19; London, Private Collection 2: Joshua 19-22; London Collection 1: Judges 1-4; London Collection 2: Judges 4-15 and I Kings 13-17; Lilly Library, Ricketts III, 53, f. 2: Ezekiel 41-44; Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis MS E 29 (main volume), ff. 1-155: II Kings to Mark 7; Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 29, f. 157: Mark 15 to Luke 1; Lilly Library, Ricketts III, 53, ff. 3-10: Luke 3-23; Lilly Library, Ricketts C: 1: John 20 to Romans 3; Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis E 29, ff. 156 and 158: Romans 8 to I Corinthians 1; Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis E 29, f. 159: I Thessalonians 5 to II Thessalonians and I Timothy 1-3; Lilly Library, Ricketts III, 25: I Timothy 3 to II Timothy 2; Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis E 29, f. 160: II Timothy 2 to Titus and Philemon 1; Lilly Library, Ricketts III, 53, f. 11: Prologue to Acts; Lilly Library, Ricketts III, 53, f. 12: Revelation 19-22 (de Hamel (2010), p. 73,

Morgan also proposes two further groups of manuscripts that show firstly illumination by the Stockholm Psalter artist (c. 1230-50) and secondly by followers of de Brailes and the Stockholm Psalter artist (c. 1250-70).²²⁶

The accumulated total for manuscripts by de Brailes is a remarkable sixteen, if the Walters/ Marmottan leaves are counted in with the Stockholm Psalter, and the Fitzwilliam and Morgan leaves are admitted as evidence for a no longer extant Psalter. In comparison to other groupings of English 'workshops' or established associations of artists, this is a very large number of survivals. The workshop of the Sarum Master for example, who was active in Salisbury c. 1245-55, is composed of six manuscripts.²²⁷ These books include a Bestiary, the Wilton and Amesbury Psalters, the Missal of Henry of Chichester, the Bible of William of Hales and an Apocalypse.²²⁸ The William of Devon group, possibly based in Oxford, although populated by artists trained in Parisian style, has nine books firmly included in its repertoire.²²⁹ Five are Bibles, two Psalters, a Book of Hours and a Pseudo-Chrysostom on the Gospel of Matthew. Perhaps closer in output to de Brailes and his associates are two Parisian 'workshops' identified by Robert Branner.²³⁰ De Hamel describes the survivals from Branner's 'Almagest' workshop, active c. 1210-20 as 'five Bibles, a luxury manuscript on astronomy, a collection of medical texts, a long

cat. 32).

^{226.} NJM, *EGM* 2, 98-105.

^{227.} For the Sarum Master manuscripts, see NJM, *EGM* 2 (London: Harvey Miller, 1988), pp. 20-21, nos. 98-103.

^{228.} The Sarum Master and William of Devon manuscripts are listed on p. 271 of this thesis.

^{229.} See NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 152-62 and Robert Branner, 'The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origin of the William of Devon Group of Painters', *The Art Bulletin*, 54, 1 (1972), 24-30.

^{230.} See Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977). De Hamel describes Branner's identifications of early Parisian workshops as 'pioneering if provisional'. See de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon, 2001), p. 334.

set of glossed books of the Bible, and a treatise in French on good government'.²³¹

The second workshop is the 'Alexander' workshop, active c. 1215-25. The output of this group of artists is similar in volume including 'about a dozen Bibles, several glossed books, a Missal, a monastic lectionary and a Psalter'.²³² The sheer number of survivals from these groups provides weighty evidence for the commercial success of these enterprises. The de Brailes corpus is the only English group from the thirteenth century to rival the Parisian shops with regard to volume of production implied by surviving manuscripts.

De Brailes' Style

An important criterion for art historians in classifying de Brailes' work has certainly to do with figure style, as originally stressed by Cockerell, and also decorative style. Cockerell comments on this important element of de Brailian *mise-en-page* in his seminal work on de Brailes.²³³ Morgan is a consistent observer of de Brailes' decorative style.²³⁴ Stirnemann has argued that ornament is more important as a method for the localization and dating of manuscripts than miniatures because of what she defines as 'the pyramid of craftsmen'.²³⁵ She suggests:

In this pyramid, scribes form the base; they are the most numerous. Miniaturists form the peak: they are the least numerous. Artists of penwork initials, decorated letters, line endings and borders occupy the upper-central portion of the pyramid. Not only are they moderate in

²³¹ De Hamel, (2001), pp. 130 and 334. See Branner (1977), pp. 201-03.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ See Cockerell, *The Work of W. de Brailes- An English Illuminator of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1930), p. 5.

²³⁴ See particularly Morgan, 'The Decorative Ornament of the Text and Page in Thirteenth-Century England: Initials, Border Extensions and Line-fillers', *English Manuscript Studies*, 10 (2002), pp.1-33. See p. 27 for de Brailes.

²³⁵ Patricia Stirnemann, 'Dating, Placing and Illumination', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 11(2008), 155-166 (p. 155).

number but they appear in far more books, so they touch a wider degree of literature. They are also creatures of habit, and their forms are relatively simple and easy to classify. Furthermore, since they intervene after the scribes, their work can testify to the temporal and geographic cohesion of a series of textual units written by different scribes but bound together in the same volume.²³⁶

The distinctive decorative elements of de Brailes' style can be applied as relatively definitive elements in the process of identification. However, decorative style as defined by these art historians does not necessarily include penwork. The use of Romanesque elements, such as dragon extensions and cartouches, are distinctively developed by de Brailes and his circle. The use of these elements, in an individualistic way, has enabled art historians to confirm de Brailes' association with some manuscripts, especially when these elements are compounded with de Brailes' distinctive drawing style in major or historiated initials. The identifications suggested by Camille of the University Aristotle and Kidd of the Franciscan Bible are both firmly supported by the appearance of de Brailean marginal elements. While marginal decorative components are an important facet of de Brailes' concept of *mise-en-page*, decisions with regard to the use of penwork divide the books again. Penwork classification not only divides the books attributed to de Brailes into new categories but, as will be suggested, also serves as a method of identifying his boldest ideas regarding the 'look' of his most luxurious products.

In the case of Borghesiana 58, Camille is able to claim this volume as a de Brailes product largely on the basis of marginal style. Camille writes that it is de Brailes' 'visual vocabulary' with regard to *mise-en-page* that is so distinctive. This design incorporates:

^{236.} *Ibid.*

...heavy decorated initials terminating in thick padded vine- scrolls with hairy white-tipped ends. (These ends) often terminate the lush lower stem of initials with a dragon as in the New College Psalter, a device that can also be seen in the Vatican manuscript. When at the top of the page, the terminal often has a bird perched upon it, a cock in the case of the Posterior Analytics. The deployment of a 'cartouche' frame to contain the first phrase of the text after the opening initial is common enough in this period, but a highly personal feature used by de Brailles, as Cockerell noticed, is the use of inscriptions, written scrolls and captions in his images.²³⁷

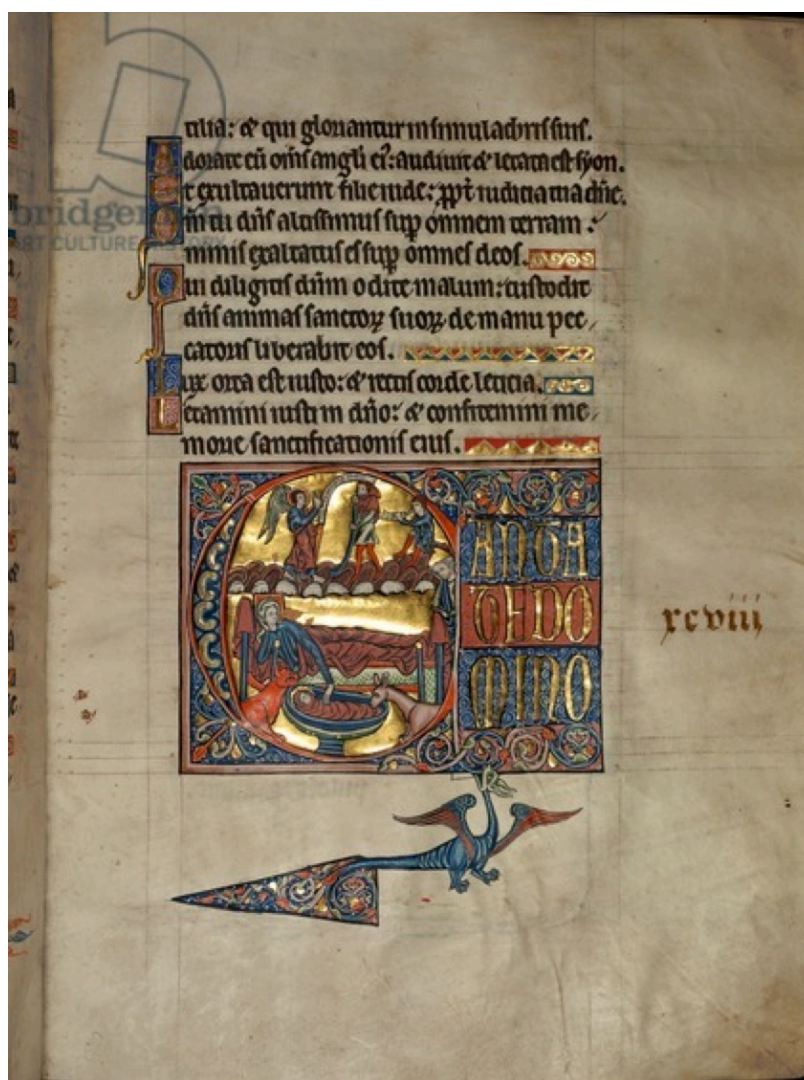


Figure 3.3: Oxford, New College, MS 322, f. 97r.

Camille uses the example above of an initial from the New College Psalter to support

²³⁷ Camille, p. 295.

his argument (Figure 3.3). A difference in quality is discernible in the examples that Camille subsequently uses from Borghesiana 58. These illuminated initials show much less developed figure style than in the New College Psalter example, and a less complicated approach to the use of space. While the similarity in the *bas de page* dragon in the New College Psalter and in the dragon at the end of the stem of an initial in the Vatican manuscript is evident, the examples from Borghesiana 58 are much less developed than those in the New College Psalter. In the New College Psalter, the marginal grotesque stands separately from the historiated initial. In the Vatican manuscript, the dragon is incorporated to the block ornament at the end of the initial stem (Figure 3.4).



Figure 3.4: Rome, BAV, MS Borghesiana 58, f. 115r.

Camille suggests that these differences in figure style and decorative technique can be accounted for by placing this book in the early part of de Brailes' career in the 1230's.²³⁸ Camille argues that the fact that only three of the miniatures out of four in the book are attributable to de Brailes indicates that de Brailes was an artist of lesser standing than the hand responsible for the portrait in the introductory chapter.²³⁹ Because the decorative components of the book seem less developed than the de Brailes style of the 1240s and 1250s, Camille deems that this too is attributable to the early place of this work in the course of de Brailes' career. The absence of penflourished decoration in the *bas de page* of this book provides further evidence for Camille's argument. The absence of flourishing from the *bas de page* is not unexpected with regard to manuscripts produced in Oxford in the first thirty years of the thirteenth century. Importation of Italian style with regard to the use of *jeux de plume* and *prolongations à l'italienne* had begun to appear in manuscripts associated with the University, but these incursions are the exception, not the rule. The minor role of de Brailes as an artist in this production would also indicate that even if de Brailes was aware of and inclined to use the new Italian techniques, the decision to employ them would not have been his ultimate responsibility.

Kidd's most recent identification of a de Brailes Bible in the British Library, MS Harley 2813 also uses the distinctive de Braileian decorative style as part of the

²³⁸ See Camille, 296. He suggests 'Nigel Morgan lists parts of a Psalter in Stockholm and an Oxford pocket bible (which is closer to our manuscript in its smaller cursive script) as the first extant products by de Brailes and dates these to c. 1230-40. This would conform to his earliest appearance in the Oxford documents as witness to a transfer of property in 1230. The more rudimentary form in the initials in the Vatican manuscript suggest that it may even predate these examples, representing perhaps the earliest surviving work by de Brailes, when he was just beginning his career as an independent 'master' of the mechanical, rather than the liberal arts'.

²³⁹ The initial on f. 1r. begins Porphyry's *Isagoge*. It is illustrated with the figure of a teacher in an 'orientalizing' type of cap as opposed to a doctor's cap or *pileus*, which Camille suggests is often used to represent classical figures such as Aristotle. (Camille, p. 293) The initials that Camille suggests are painted by de Brailes are Aristotle's *Topics* on f. 115r, the *Prior Analytics* on f. 185r. and the *Posterior Analytics* on f. 233r.

attribution evidence. The example below illustrates Kidd's analysis of the de Braileian *mise-en-page* with the historiated half-vesica for this opening of the Gospel of John, occurring halfway down the semi-bar border which terminates in a dragon grotesque (Figure 3.5).



Figure 3.5: London, BL, Harley MS 2813, f. 423 r.

Kidd also notes the recurrence of distinctive grotesques in Harley 2813 and the de Brailes Book of Hours. He also highlights similarity in specific grotesque types and decorative style in a number of other de Brailes products including Bodleian MS lat. bibl. e. 7, Gray's Inn MS 24, and Cambridge Gonville and Caius College MS

350/567. The recurrence of the cockerel, illustrated below, neatly demonstrates Kidd's methodology (Figures 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8).



Figure 3.6: London, BL, Harley MS 2813, f. 442v.



Figure 3.7: London, BL, MS Harley 2813, f. 442v.



Figure 3.8: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 1r

The flourishing that appears in the Vatican manuscript and the Franciscan Bible is a minor element of the decoration of the books. Most of the text is

unembellished by flourishing, and when it does appear it is of the fleuronée type. The most elaborate fleuronée of these books appears in the Masses included in the Franciscan Bible (Figure 3.9).

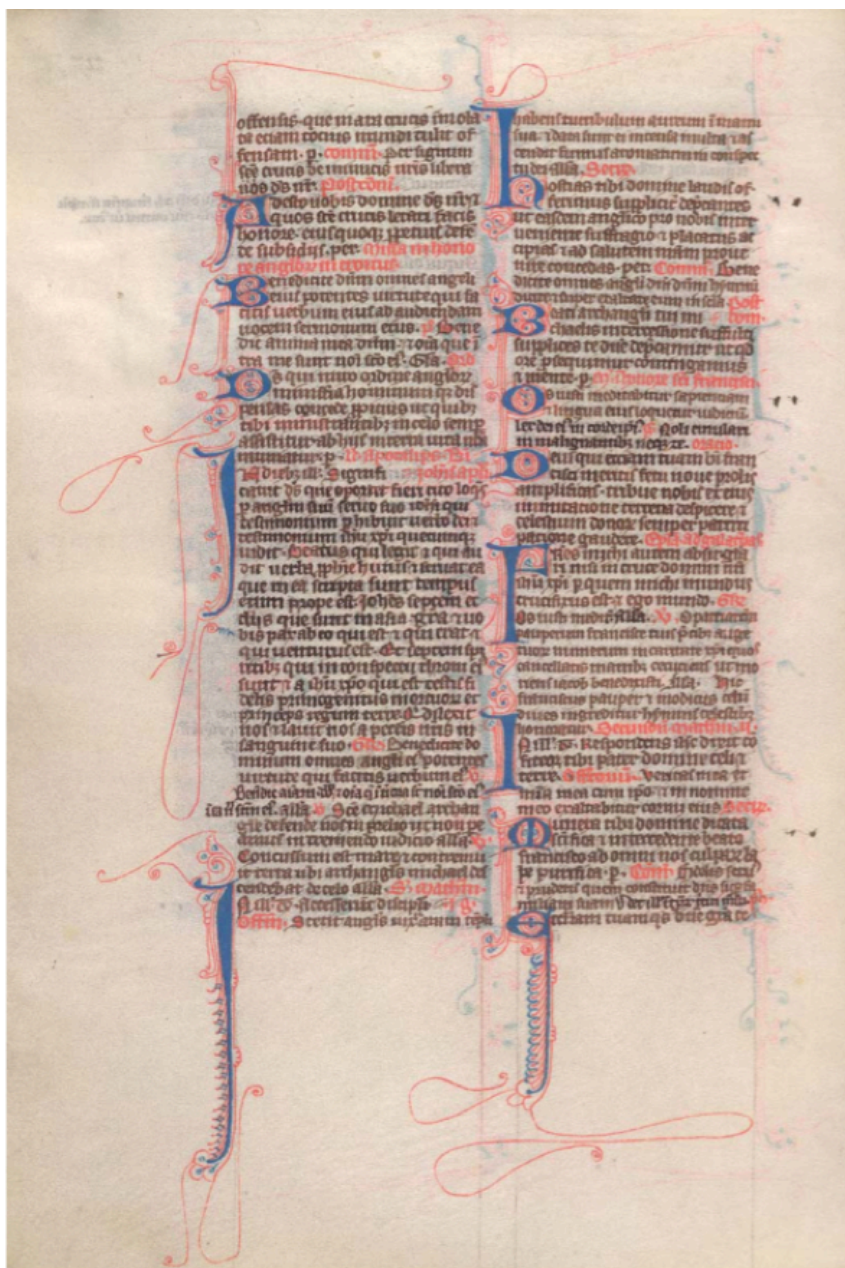


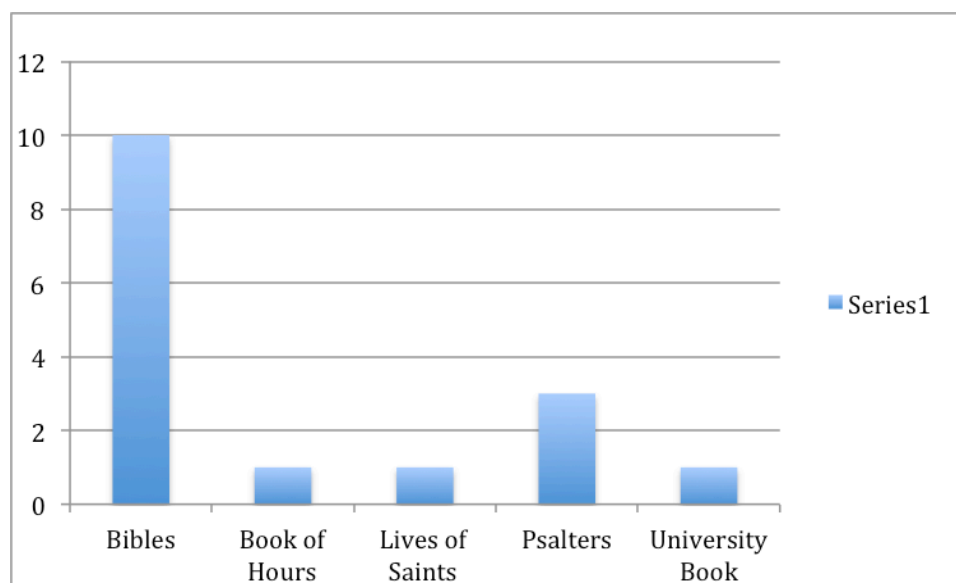
Figure 3.9: London, BL, MS Harley 2813, f. 228r.

While this flourishing is of note within the context of the Bible as a whole, in that this elaborate fleuronée occurs along with the Mass for Saint Francis, and that the

Bible is strongly associated with a Franciscan patron, the flourishing itself is conventional with regard to formation and colour. Wolfgang Augustyn and Christine Jacobi-Mirwald suggest that this horizontal type of fleuronée is typical of flourishing of the first half of the thirteenth century in England; its appearance in this text tells us little of its makers.²⁴⁰ When flourishing is divided by type however, a more general understanding of its use within the context of its production becomes clear.

Texts and Contexts

The corpus of de Brailes manuscripts that has thus far been identified is divisible into types of book. The following chart shows that the most common examples are Bibles.



The Walters/Marmottan leaves are included as part of the Stockholm Psalter. The Fitzwilliam and Morgan leaves have been counted as representative of a psalter that has not survived.

²⁴⁰ See Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald (2003), cols. 1131-1132. The authors suggest that dominant horizontal *fleuronnée* extensions differentiate English manuscripts of the second half of the thirteenth century from Parisian productions: 'Die dominanten, in die Seitenränder ausgreifenden *F* [*fleuronnée*].ausläufer mit beidseitigem Besatz aus Palmetten und Fäden heben sich deutlich vom *F*. in Pariser Hss.' (col. 1131).

The predominance of Bibles in the de Brailes corpus suggests several interpretations. Bibles were clearly the most requested type of book from de Brailes' pool of patrons. Since many of the Bibles were intended for patrons in locations other than Oxford, it may be concluded that the recognition of Oxford itself as a centre for the production of luxury books, and the reputation of de Brailes himself, may have contributed to the large number of surviving commissions. It may also be argued that these survivals indicate only a relatively small proportion of the actual output of de Brailes over a thirty-year period *c.* 1230-60.

The ten Bibles in the de Brailes corpus are diverse in size and decorative programmes, but as a group they can be classified as study Bibles. As both Kidd and de Hamel remark, there is confusion regarding the terminology used to describe the new breed of thirteenth-century Bible. Kidd discusses the confusion between the terms 'pocket bible' and 'Paris' Bible. He defines the Paris Bible as:

. . . the Bible which evolved in the first few decades of the thirteenth century, containing a version of the text influenced by the glossed biblical books of the twelfth century; with a standard selection and sequence of books, with the 'modern' chapter divisions, accompanied by a standard set of prologues and usually the Interpretation of Hebrew Names, but without the chapter lists and canon tables that are common in twelfth-century Bibles. A 'Paris' Bible is not necessarily 'pocket' sized or made in Paris, but is often both.²⁴¹

It is important to emphasize, however, that although the de Brailes Bibles can be classified as Paris Bibles as a type, they do not all conform to the order of the Parisian Vulgate itself. The term 'study Bible' is therefore more broadly accurate to describe the de Brailes Bibles. As Bennett argues, English reaction to the Parisian

²⁴¹. Kidd, 'A Franciscan Bible Illuminated in the Style of William de Brailes' *ebly* (2007), Article 8, p. 2.

format with regard to the inclusion of Prologues (usually sixty-six) and the order and inclusion of Books in both the Old and the New Testament is extremely variable.²⁴² Bennett writes that the de Brailes Bibles are not uniform in their textual sequencing. She observes that York, XVI.N.6, Bodleian bibl. lat. e. 7, and Merton, MS 7 all omit the second Book of Esdras after Nehemias. Not one of the Bibles in the de Brailes group adheres to the Parisian Vulgate with regard to Prologues.²⁴³ In Appendix I, C of her dissertation, Bennett contrasts the numbers of Prologues in a selection of thirteenth-century Bibles by contrasting the number of Prologues in each Bible that either agree or disagree with the Parisian Vulgate. In the de Brailes group, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 350/567 includes the greatest number of Prologues, eighty, of which nearly half (thirty-five) are in disagreement with the Parisian model. York XVI.N.6 includes fifty prologues of which thirty-six are in disagreement with the Parisian Vulgate. Bodleian Library Laud. lat. 13 is a closer match with the Vulgate. It includes sixty-nine Prologues of which twenty-three are not part of the Parisian Vulgate cycle.

The versions of the Psalms are also variable in the de Brailes group. Seven of the Bibles include the Gallican version of the Psalms. There are three Double Psalters (Gray's Inn MS 24, Bodleian Laud. lat. 13 and Perth Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462) that include Gallican and Hebraic versions, and Merton MS 7 has a single Hebraic version of the Psalms.²⁴⁴ Bennett also argues that the Hebraic versions in these Bibles come from a common exemplar or recension.²⁴⁵ Bennett concludes by citing much greater variety with regard to dissension in the Parisian Vulgate order,

²⁴². See Bennett, (1973), pp. 36-64.

²⁴³. *Ibid*, Appendix I, Tables B and C.

²⁴⁴. *Ibid*, p. 59.

²⁴⁵. *Ibid*.

with regard to thirteenth-century Bibles that include Double Psalters as a group. In examining a group of eight thirteenth-century Double Psalter Bibles, Bennett records diversion from the Parisian model with the addition of apocryphal books, including the Epistle to the Laodiceans and III-V Esdras. The Books of Tobit, Judith and Esther, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, the Books of Colossians and Thessalonians, Acts and the Apocalypse all appear in varying sequential placements. Entire Books can be excluded including the Pauline Epistles, the Catholic Epistles or the Maccabees.²⁴⁶ With regard to the variety shown in this group, Bennett suggests that, perhaps English patrons were more involved in the specifications for their books than their Parisian contemporaries. With reference to the Oxford book trade, comparison to the Parisian seems to imply that a much less organized and systemized trade existed in Oxford.

De Hamel highlights the confusion regarding the term ‘university bibles’ as applied to these small-scale thirteenth-century productions of the study Bible type, whether pocket-sized or otherwise. He argues that there is no evidence for students at the early universities using small, complete versions of the Bible during their lectures. As de Hamel points out, university students did study the Bible for four years, but the copies they used would have been individual books with a gloss. The small-format Bibles would have been insufficient for the needs of an annotating student, and, as de Hamel further notes, the advantages of portability would have been negligible for a student travelling to lectures from nearby lodgings in

²⁴⁶ See Bennett, pp. 48-49. Bennett’s control group of thirteenth-century Double Psalter Bibles includes Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 3 .5; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud lat. 13; London, Gray’s Inn, MS 24; Oxford, All Souls College, MS 2; Ripon, Ripon Cathedral Library, MS 1; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. D. 1. 7; Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS II 1. 6; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 3. 2.

comparison with the wide-ranging territory of a mendicant friar.²⁴⁷

Only one in the group of ten de Brailes Bibles is diminutive enough to be truly a ‘pocket’ Bible. This is Bodleian Library, MS lat. bibl. e. 7. Its paperback-like dimensions (167 x 116 mm.), paper-thin parchment, minute Gothic script and compressed yet narratively expansive illustrations in the form of historiated initials fulfil all of the requirements for this type. Its dimensions are small enough to slip into a secular or, in the case of Bodleian MS lat. bibl. e. 7, a mendicant pocket as Dominican ownership of this Bible can be concluded from the inclusion of a Mass for St Dominic in the Missal section of the book as well as the insertion on the same folio for the Mass of the Translation of Saint Dominic.²⁴⁸ Kidd notes further related Masses on ff. 227r to 236v.²⁴⁹

The changing demographics of the city of Oxford in the first decades of the thirteenth century must have a bearing on the large number of small, portable Bibles produced by de Brailes and his associates. The arrival of the Dominicans in Oxford in 1221 and that of the Franciscans in 1223, created a new and vigorous market for the portable study Bible. Kidd notes that by 1233 there were approximately eighty friars in Oxford each in need of access to the biblical text.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷. See de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon, 2001), p. 136.

²⁴⁸. See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS lat. bibl. e. 7, ff. 199-204. See NJM, *EGM I*, p. 115.

²⁴⁹. Kidd, p. 6. See also Kidd’s comments on other thirteenth-century Bibles dating from the first or second quarter of the century that contain Missal sections. Other examples of Bibles dating from the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century which have Missal sections are: San Marino, Huntington Library, HM 26061, Boston, Public Library, MS. F. Med. q 202, and Paris, BNF, MS. Lat 10431. Kidd notes that Huntington Library HM 26061 and Boston, Public Library, MS. F. Med. q 202 both contain Franciscan Missal sections, and that the Huntington Library manuscript is associated with the Oxford Franciscans. He also points out that the BNF manuscript contains an English Cistercian calendar that is dateable to between 1235 and 1250, as well as work by the main artist of the Stockholm Psalter.

²⁵⁰. See Kidd, p. 6. See also Laura Light, ‘The Bible and the Individual: The Thirteenth-Century Paris Bible’, in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. by Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 228-46.

As de Hamel points out, although mendicant friars were permitted the use of books, and allowed to retain them with the permission of their House, they were forbidden to make and sell books themselves.²⁵¹ Pope Gregory IX's bull of 1230, *Quo elongat*, while not specific to the subject of books, states that friars could have the use but not the ownership of property.²⁵² The friars' books were officially the property of their Order. The notation '*Ad usum...*' signified that the book in question was for the use of, but not the property of, the friar whose name appears in the flyleaf.²⁵³ De Hamel suggests that the three most important aspects of the study Bible with regard to the friars, 'portability, searchability and definitiveness', were disseminated by the friars as they travelled throughout Europe and beyond.²⁵⁴

Mendicant associations have been found in a number of books in the de Brailes corpus. British Library MS Harley 2813, which has already been discussed as a Franciscan Bible, includes a prayer for St Francis and Robert Grosseteste's indexing symbols.

²⁵¹. See de Hamel, p. 135.

²⁵². See Kidd, p. 12, n. 20.

²⁵³. See Malcolm Parkes, 'The Provision of Books', in J. I. Catto and Ralph Evans eds, *The History of the University of Oxford, II: Late Medieval Oxford* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 407–83.

²⁵⁴. De Hamel (p. 135) notes that Bibles with Parisian origins with friars' inscriptions have been discovered in Scandinavia and Bohemia.

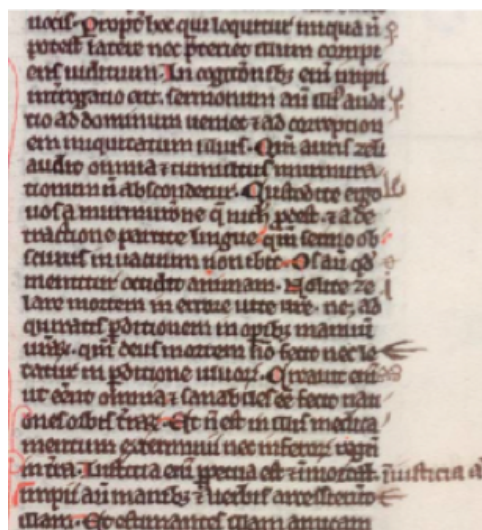


Figure 3.10: London, BL, Harley MS 2813, f. 250 r.

Kidd states that books containing Grosseteste's indexing symbols can be securely associated with the Oxford convent (Figure 3.10).²⁵⁵

Like Bodleian MS lat.bibl. e. 7, Harley MS 2813 has Masses between the Psalms and Proverbs.²⁵⁶ The Masses include those for the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, the Cross, Angels, St Francis, Advent, Christmas, the Purification and the rest of the annual Christian cycle, useful texts for a friar conducting worship in both public and private spheres.²⁵⁷

Mendicant influence is present in three other books in the de Brailes group.

Camille argues that the University Aristotle that he identified as a de Brailes product

²⁵⁵ For Grosseteste's indexing symbols, see Kidd's note 19 on p. 12: Grosseteste's 'Tabula', ed. Philipp W. Rosemann, in *Opera Roberti Grosseteste Lincolniensis, i, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout, Brepols, 1995), pp. 235-320; S. Harrison Thomson, 'Grosseteste's Topical Concordance of the Bible and the Fathers', *Speculum*, 9 (1934), 139-44; R. W. Hunt, 'Manuscripts Containing the Indexing Symbols of Robert Grosseteste', *Bodleian Library Record*, 4 (1952-3), 241-55, and Hunt's 'The Library of Robert Grosseteste' in D. A. Callus, ed., *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop: Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of his Death* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1955), pp. 121-45, and M. B. Parkes, 'Books and Aids to Scholarship of the Oxford Friars', in A. C. de la Mare and B. C. Barker-Benfield eds, *Manuscripts at Oxford: An Exhibition in Memory of Richard William Hunt (1908-1979), Keeper of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1945-1975, on Themes Selected and Described by Some of his Friends* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 57-59.

²⁵⁶ See Kidd, pp. 17-18.

²⁵⁷ Kidd, p. 12.

was also intended for a Franciscan or someone closely associated with the Order.²⁵⁸

The tonsured and robed appearance of both masters and students, with their hands raised in disputation suggests to Camille that the illuminator was well acquainted with the academic process and dress at the University.²⁵⁹ Camille also argues that the texts that begin with historiated initials are significant in indicating differentiation in the teaching of Aristotelian texts at Oxford, where a theological approach was adopted, as opposed to the teaching of Aristotle in the Parisian schools. On f. 233 r. Camille notes the dialectic proposed between the master and his students concerning Christian interpretation of ancient texts. In the historiated initial ‘O’, both master and students look upwards with gesticulating forefingers in response to the appearance of God’s hand from the heavens. The hand holds a scroll that reads ‘ENS’, broadly interpreted as ‘being’, or in Aristotelian terms, not only everything that Is but that which can be conceived. Camille argues that this representation of intellectual process emphasizes the theological implications posed by default by Aristotelian texts. He emphasizes that it was Robert Grosseteste, the most famous of all the Oxford Franciscans, who insisted on examining the theological implications of texts such as the Posterior Analytics.²⁶⁰ In contrast, Camille presents a contemporary Parisian illustration of the same text, in which instead of the Hand of God appearing in the heavens, a female personification, Dialectic appears before the students.²⁶¹

²⁵⁸. See Michael Camille, ‘An Oxford University Textbook Illuminated by William de Brailes’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 37 (1995), 292-99.

²⁵⁹. Camille, p. 299.

²⁶⁰. See Camille, p. 297.

²⁶¹. See Camille’s comparison of the two texts on p. 299. The Parisian book is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Lat.6291 A.

Decorating the Psalter

The three Double Psalters in the group of Bibles may at first glance indicate mendicant interest in the comparative versions of the Psalms. Mendicant study with regard to the variant readings of the received text was strong in the thirteenth century. Beryl Smalley suggests that the preparation of texts whereby variant readings are proposed side by side, such as in the mendicant *correctiones* and Double Psalters, is a crucial characteristic of biblical study in the thirteenth century.²⁶² In the case of the Double or the less popular Triple Psalters, which included the Roman version of the Psalms as well as the Gallican and Hebraic, the variant texts imply that one text is not privileged over another. Bennett suggests that this is a tradition that can be traced to the third century in Origen's *Hexapla*, in which six different variants of the Old Testament were presented in parallel columns.²⁶³ By the twelfth century, the Hieronymian duplex, the Gallican/Hebraicum version laid out in parallel columns, was the ubiquitous form.²⁶⁴ However, Bennett finds that in Princeton University's MS Garrett 28, the Psalter duplex was based on a corrupt exemplar. She argues that 'the patron did not endeavour to have the two editions collated on genuine linguistic principles.'²⁶⁵ Bennett concludes that the decorative programme for the Duplex was more important to the patron than the linguistic comparison of the Gallican and Hebraic versions of the Psalms. The inclusion of the Double Psalter provided most

²⁶² See Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 13, 220, 335. For the *correctiones*, which have been divided into thirteen groups of variants, see Raphael Loewe, 'The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate', in *The History of the Bible, the West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. by G.W. H. Lampe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), rpt., 1994, pp. 100-55, esp. pp. 148-49.

²⁶³ Bennett, p. 102. For her comments on the *Hexapla*, see, pp. 65-78. Bennett describes the organization of the *Hexapla* as columns of the Old Testament in Hebrew, transliterated Hebrew in Greek letters, Aquila's and Symmachus' Greek versions, Origen's Septuagint, collated by diacritical signs with Hebrew in the first column and Theodotion's Greek version.

²⁶⁴ Bennett notes one thirteenth-century Roman/Hebraic version, London, British Library, Add. 15452. The *Romanum* declined in use after the eleventh century. See Bennett, pp. 68-78.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, unpaginated introduction.

importantly an opportunity for extra illumination and other decoration. Garrett 28 displays an ambitious programme of painted historiated initials for the Gallican Psalms, and puzzle initials for the Hebraic. In the Double Psalters of the de Brailes group Gray's Inn MS 24, Perth, MS 462 and Bodleian Library MS Laud. lat. 13, the decorative programmes consist of penflourished initials of the fleuronée and puzzle initial types. Unlike Garrett 28, the decorative programmes for each of the three Bibles with Double Psalters is consistent. Although the Gray's Inn Bible has been mutilated, twenty-eight historiated initials for the openings of the Books remain as well as thirteen decorated initials. The Gallican and Hebraic Psalters are presented side by side, and the verses are articulated by the use of *fleuronée* only (Figure 3.11). The decorative emphasis in this Bible is on figurative, narrative components.

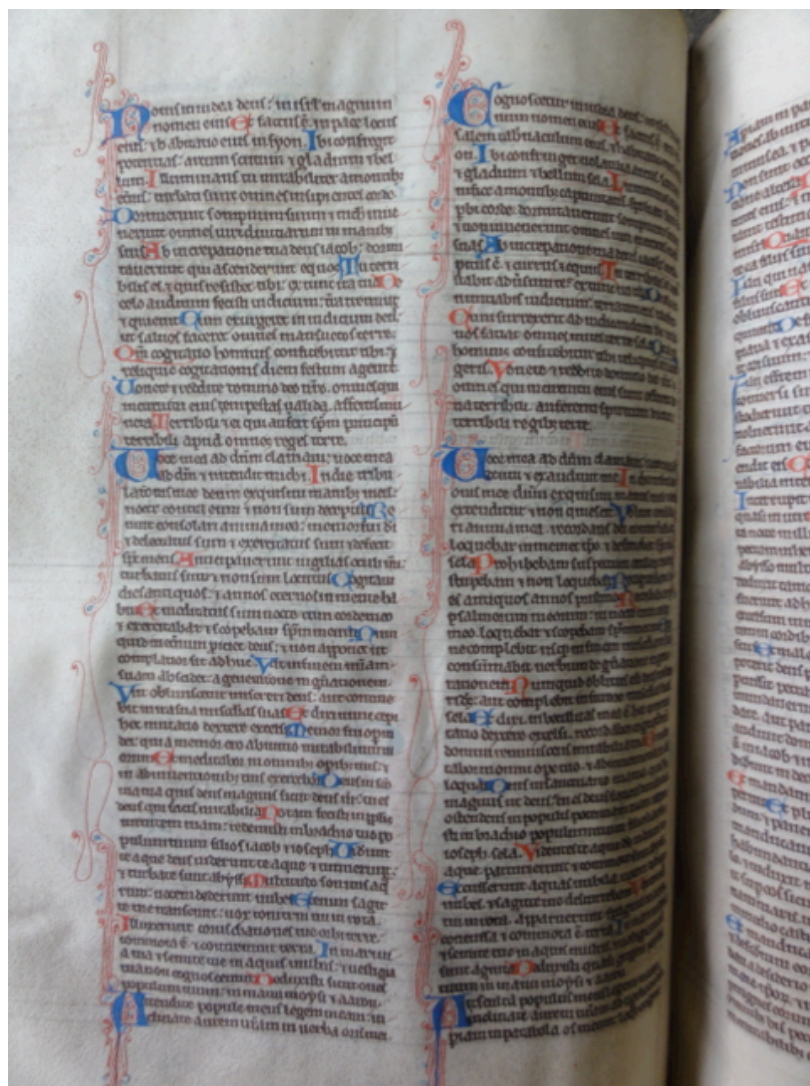


Figure 3.11: London, Gray's Inn, MS 24, f. 172v.

The Double Psalters in the Perth and the Bodleian Laud lat Bibles are more elaborately decorated with puzzle initials. While the puzzle initials in the Gallican and Hebraic Psalms are not identical, there has been an effort to make them appear visually equal with regard to the balance of colour and the shape of the puzzle initials (Figure 3.12). The aesthetic implied by the flourishing ascribes equal importance to both Psalm versions.

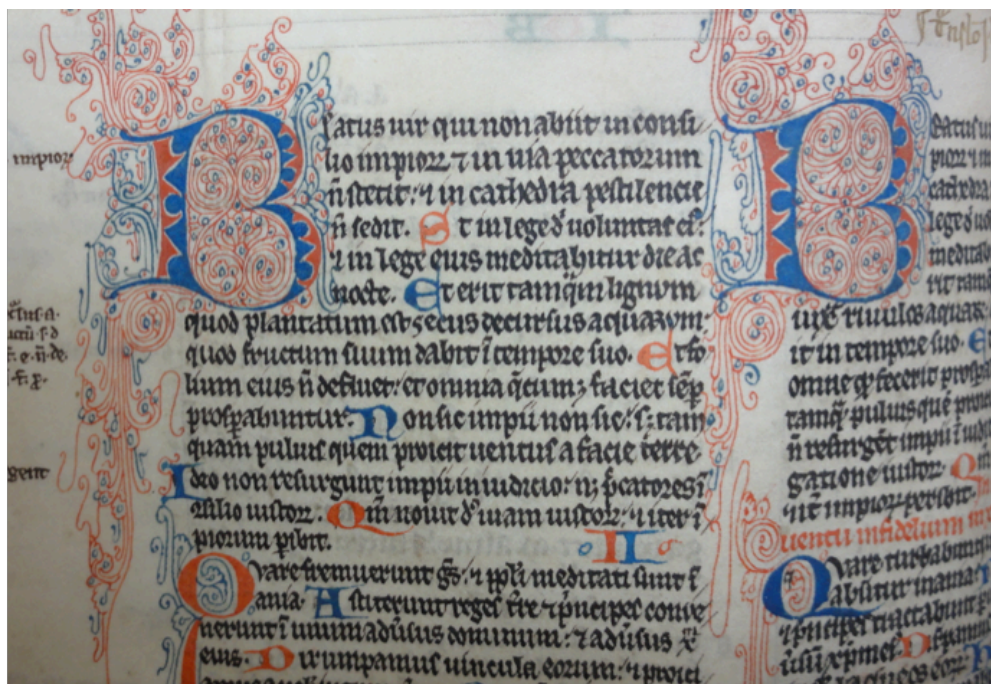


Figure 3.12: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud lat 13, f. 155v.

The flourishing hand for the puzzle initials that appears in Bodleian Laud. lat. 13 is very similar to that which appears in Perth Art Museum, MS 462. But there is variation in the geometry of the shape of the puzzle edge in the capitals, with Perth 462 displaying an extra shape with straight edges in the centre of the puzzle initial, as opposed to the pattern of triangular and rounded edges that composes the rest of the puzzle edge. In Laud lat 13, the flourishing that surrounds the capitals has consistent form. Concentric *fleuronnée* flourishing frames the beginning and ending strokes of the letters in all three examples. The grounds of the capitals in Laud lat. 13 and Perth 462 are filled with concentric red forms as well and are punctuated by minuscule circles in blue (Figure 3.13). The strong similarities in the form of the puzzle components of the 'B' in both Bibles, as well as the similarities in structure to the infill of the initial and the stacks of swirled linear flourishing both above and below the letter, suggest that the same flourisher may have worked on both books. If this is the case, a production method becomes likely, with de Brailes supplying the

historiated incipit for Genesis, and then leaving the rest of the decoration of the Bible to an accomplished, and known, flourisher.



Figure 3.13: Perth, Scotland, Perth Art Museum, MS 462, unfoliated

Puzzle initials appear only in the Index of Hebrew Names in the Gray's Inn Bible.

These initials appear to be by a different hand from that which appears in the Laud lat. 13 and Perth 462. There are no blue circles within the ground of the letter, and the flourishing that descends on the extended shaft of the 'A' in the left hand margin is much more complicated in structure than that which appears in the other two duplexes (Figure 3.14). No small blue circles punctuate the flourished design.



Figure 3.14: London, Gray's Inn, MS 24, f. 402r.

The only Bible to include a single version of the Hebraic Psalms is Merton MS 7, a Bible that features a decorative programme that may include an unusual component of mosaic gold or purpurino (Figure 3.15).



Figure 3.15: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, f. 57v.



Figure 3.16: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, f. 90v.

This substance gives the decorated areas a glimmering appearance that contrasts sharply with the areas filled with the usual leaf gold (Figure 3.16). Mosaic gold is stannic sulphide, a material developed for use in metalwork and gilding. There are examples of it being used in European manuscripts of the fourteenth century, but it was not widely used in books until the fifteenth century.²⁶⁶ The rarity of the technique implies a very specific patron requirement, in itself suggestive of a deluxe book. There is no evidence in the book to associate it with a specific mendicant order, but the patron is likely to have been a wealthy individual, influenced by mendicant interest in variant readings of the Psalms.

²⁶⁶ See Nicholas Eastaugh, Valentine Walsh, Tracey Chaplin and Ruth Siddall, *Pigment Compendium; A Dictionary and Microscopy of Medieval Pigments* (Burlington, Mass: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2008), p. 274. There are several other possibilities for the identity of the substance used in MS 7. Both non-oxidized silver and oxidized white lead are possibilities, but pigment testing would need to be carried out to identify this substance positively. Lynda Dennison notes the use of mosaic gold in London, Dr. William's Library MS Ancient 6. (London? 1328). See Dennison, 'An Illuminator of the Queen Mary Psalter Group: The Ancient 6 Master' *The Antiquaries Journal*, 6.2 (1986), 287-314. For the use of mosaic gold see Daniel V. Thompson, *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (London: Dover, 1936), pp. 4-5 and 37-38. See also Janet L. Ross, 'A Note on the Use of Mosaic Gold', *Studies in Conservation*, 18 (1973), 174-76.

Of the five remaining Bibles, it is not possible to speculate too far regarding patronage but their size indicates private use. Such use alone suggests mendicant influence, or direct mendicant use. The most simply decorated of the group is York, MS XVI.N.6. There are only three folios that indicate de Brailes' involvement with the production. The Incipits for Jerome's Prologue and Genesis are painted in recognizable de Brailes style. Both the four-petaled infill for the capital 'F' (*frater*) that follows the edge of the text block to the *bas de page*, and the series of half-vesicas for the Genesis incipit terminate in a crowned dragon in distinctive de Brailes style (Figure 3.17).

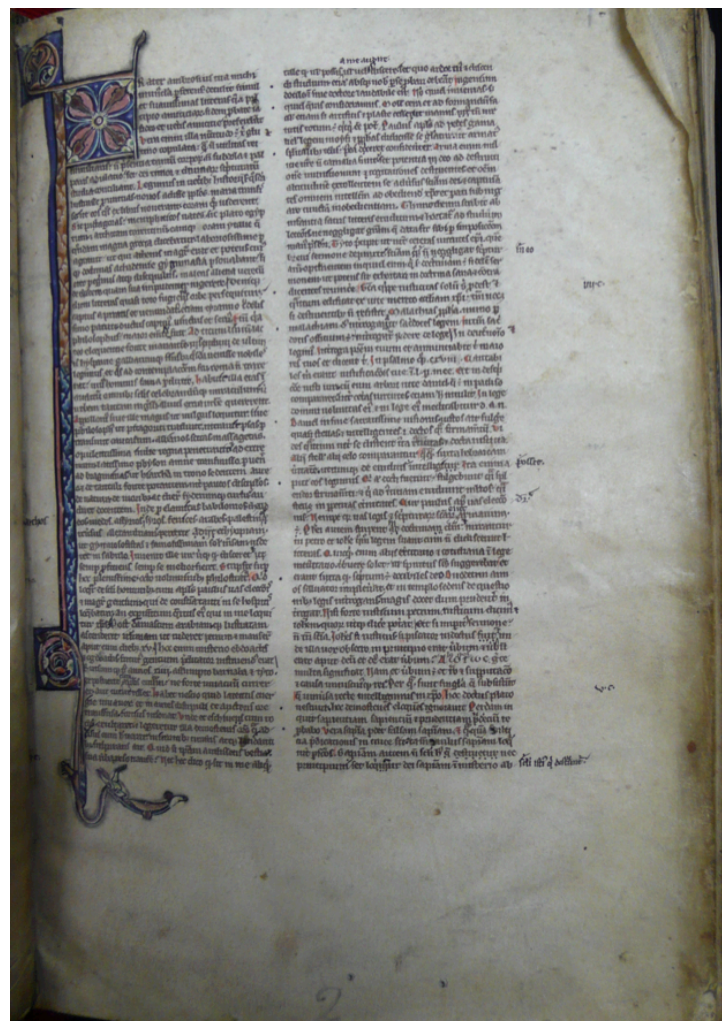


Figure 3.17: York, York Cathedral Library, MS XVI. N. 6, f. 1r.

Both the decorated initial for Jerome's Prologue and the Incipit initial for Genesis show evidence of being pasted into the book (Figure 3.18).



Figure 3.18: York, York Cathedral Library, MS XVI. N. 6, f. 3r.

The presence of pasted-in initials does not seem to indicate a lower status for productions in the de Brailes group. Four of the thirteen initials that are attributed to de Brailes himself in the New College Psalter have been pasted into place.²⁶⁷

Cockerell argues that Psalms 26, 38, 51 and 52 have been ‘painted on thin leaves of vellum that have been pasted down into spaces left blank for the purpose.’²⁶⁸ Their

^{267.} See Cockerell (1930), p. 8. Ten large and three smaller initials are attributed to de Brailes by Cockerell in the New College Psalter.

^{268.} *Ibid.*, p. 2.

use seems to have more to do with intentional contemporary production practice than with implied postproduction supplement or substitution. It is not a practice that is commonly in use in thirteenth-century manuscripts, and perhaps may imply some pressure with regard to consumer demand in the de Brailes circle.

Mendicant influence is also present in two of the three most luxurious books of the de Brailes corpus. Books of this formality would not have been commissioned or bought by mendicant Houses, but the influence of the friars on the patrons of these books is evident in the New College Psalter and the Book of Hours. The Stockholm Psalter does not point to specific association with a mendicant Order, but it does strongly indicate a London destination for the Psalter. The feasts of Mellitus (24th April), Erkenwald (30th April), and Ethelbert (25th February) are graded in the highest colour of blue and both the Feast and the Translation of Ethelberga of Barking are in red.²⁶⁹ The large number of coats of arms that appear in the *bas de page* indicates an aristocratic patron. Morgan notes that this is the earliest appearance of arms in an English manuscript (Figure 3.19).²⁷⁰



Figure 3.19: Stockholm , Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 33r.

²⁶⁹. See NJM, *EGM I*, p. 113-14.

²⁷⁰. *Ibid.*

The identifying script is a later addition to some of the arms. The New College Psalter, the Stockholm Psalter, and Oxford, Christ Church MS 105 are the only books in the de Brailes group to contain calendars. Christ Church MS 105 is the only Bible in the de Brailes corpus to contain a calendar, and it is an unusual feature for thirteenth-century Bibles in general.²⁷¹ This calendar does not indicate specific mendicant associations. In the New College Psalter, both the feast of St Francis on 4th October (canonized in 1228), and the feast of St Dominic on 8th August (canonized 1234) are graded in blue. Another Dominican Saint, Peter of Verona, is also noted on the 5th of August.²⁷² The Dominican saints are contemporary but additional to the original hand that recorded the feast of St Francis. This hand also adds four English saints.²⁷³ The New College Psalter also shows evidence of a London patron in the inclusion of saints associated with the diocese of London. The feasts of Erkenwald, Mellitus and Ethelbert are graded in the highest colour of blue, and Ethelberga of Barking appears in red. The litany shows association with Peterborough in the inclusion of Kyneburga, Knyeswide and Tibba appearing at the end of the list of Virgins.²⁷⁴ The Book of Hours includes prayers for three friars: Richard of Newark (Nottinghamshire), Bartholomew of Grimston (Leicestershire) and Richard of Westey.²⁷⁵ That the Book of Hours includes prayers for three friars again highlights mendicant influence on an economically elite client. Camille argues that the University Aristotle too was made for either a Franciscan or someone closely associated with the Convent. Viewed in this way, as a large group of productions

²⁷¹. See NJM, *EGM I* pp. 114-16, (p. 115).

²⁷². See NJM, *EGM I*, pp. 121-23, (p. 122.).

²⁷³. *Ibid.*

²⁷⁴. *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵. NJM, *EGM I*, pp. 119-21, (p. 121).

dominated by small-scale study Bibles, and showing significant mendicant influence, the de Brailes group presents a fairly consistent profile with regard to intended use and audience.

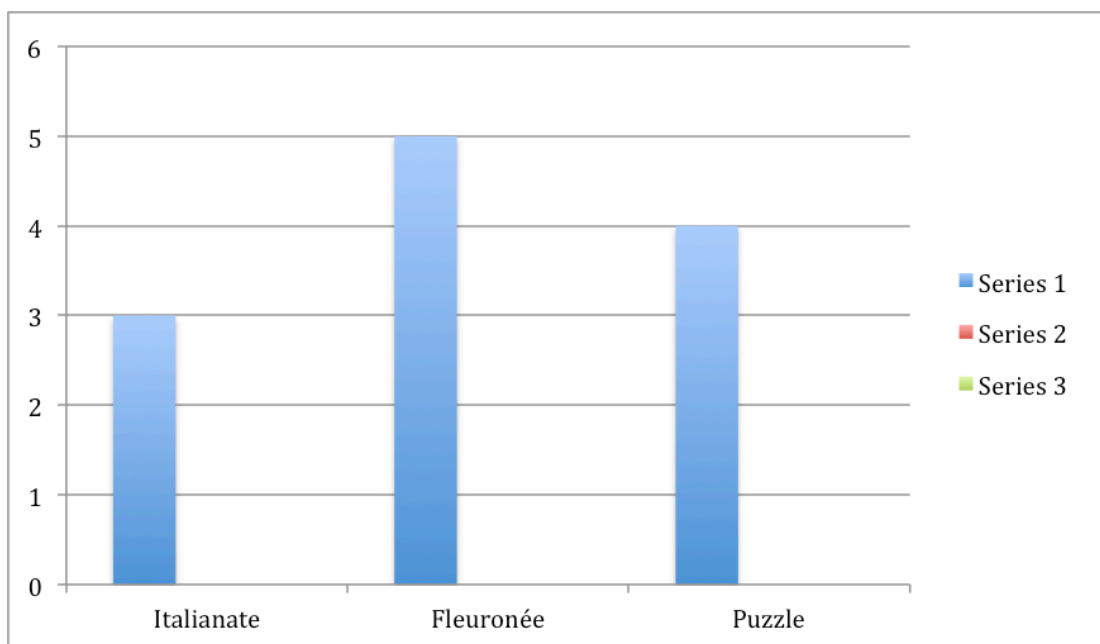
Penflourished Groups in the Corpus

If the corpus of the work of de Brailes and his associates is examined in another way, with specific reference to their decorative programmes, the type of penflourishing employed for the respective programmes suggests patterns of patron preference, and may also indicate price. The use of flourishing in de Brailes productions shows both innovation as well as adherence to Romanesque style. Flourishing of three distinctive types is evident in the de Brailes corpus. The most exuberant flourishing found in the de Brailes group appears in his three most deluxe books: the Book of Hours, the New College Psalter and the Stockholm Psalter. These books were most probably produced at the height of de Brailes' career in the 1240s or 50s. These books carry bold flourishing, most particularly in the *bas de page* of the folios. There are clear stylistic references to earlier French work, such as the Lewis Psalter examined in Chapter 2. Italian style is also in evidence with replication of specific Bolognese penwork techniques. Examples from this group of deluxe manuscripts include the use of embroidered baselines, roundheads, and heads of barley. In some instances, it appears as if de Brailes, or his flourisher, may be following from an Italian exemplar, so complete is the replication of the *jeux de plume* design. This group of manuscripts will be referred to as the 'Italianate'.

The second flourishing group is defined by the use of *fleuronnée* in conjunction with the use of small-scale historiated and decorated initials. Although *bas de page* decoration does occur occasionally in these productions, it is composed

of either small-scale figurative components or flourishing that is much less dominant to *mise-en-page* than that used in the Italianate group. There is also a tendency to add figurative expansion of the narrative explicated by the historiation in these books with the addition of further figurative illustration at the base of the stem of the historiated initial. This group will be called the ‘fleuronnée’ group.

The third group is composed of books that feature elaborate puzzle initials as a major component of their decorative programme. These books consistently open with either a decorated or historiated initial in de Brailes style and continue with the use of puzzle initials for the rest of the major openings of the Books of the Bible.



With regard to the types of books that compose these categories, the Italianate group consists of the three most deluxe productions of the de Brailes corpus, the two Psalters and the Book of Hours. The second group of books that feature the combination of *fleuronnée* and small-scale decorated and historiated initials is composed of Bibles only. These include Bodleian Library Lat. bibl. e. 7; British

Library MS Harley 2813; Gray's Inn MS 24; Gonville and Caius College MS 350/567; and Free Library of Philadelphia MS Lewis E 29. The third group is dominated by the use of intricate puzzle initials that follow either decorated or historiated initials for the first Prologue, and historiated half or full vesicas for Genesis. This 'puzzle' group is composed of four Bibles: Perth MS 462; Bodleian Library MS Laud lat. 13; Christ Church MS 105; and York MS XVI. N. 6. The University Aristotle at the Vatican Library and the Saints' Lives in the BNF have been excluded from this analysis as they include a small number of miniatures attributed to de Brailes or a close associate. Borghesiana 58 contains three miniatures attributed to de Brailes while the Saints' Lives in the BNF contains two. The leaves that contain prefatory miniatures have also been excluded, as they carry no penwork in their present state. Penwork may have been trimmed from the leaves, but, when compared to other surviving examples, it is unlikely that the leaves of the prefatory cycles contained penwork. Any penwork on these pages is restricted to the infill of border frames. Merton MS 7 has also been excluded from this analysis, as its decorative programme is unique in the de Brailes corpus.

Merton MS 7 opens in the same way as the Bibles in both the *fleuronnée* and puzzle groups, with a historiated initial for the Prologue of Jerome (Figures 3.20 and 3.21). The Bibles in the *fleuronnée* group then continue with a programme of historiated initials whereas the Bibles in the puzzle initial group largely abandon the use of historiation in pigment and instead supply puzzle initials in red and blue ink to mark the major text openings.



Figure 3.21: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, f. 1r.

Genesis follows with a series of geometrically framed scenes from the Creation cycle that appears unusually in an inter-columnar position. The depictions of the scenes of the Creation cycle are similar to those found in other de Brailes illuminations for Genesis, terminating with Christ with his hand raised in blessing (Figure 3.22). York MS XVI. N. 6, Bodleian Laud lat. 13, and Christ Church MS 105 also display a Christ figure with a hand raised in benediction for the terminus of the seven days of Creation in the incipit to Genesis. Gonville and Caius College MS 350/567 has the

Crucifixion as its terminus as does Bodleian Library lat. bibl. e. 7, with the addition of the figures of the Virgin and St John the Evangelist on either side of the Cross. The incipit for Genesis has been excised from BL Harley MS 2813, and both Philadelphia Free Library MS Lewis E 29 and Gray's Inn MS 24 begin imperfectly. Lewis E 29 begins with II Kings and Gray's Inn begins in the middle of the 27th chapter of Genesis. It is possible that Merton MS 7's Creation cycle would also have terminated with either a Crucifixion scene or an image of Christ with his hand raised in blessing. This portion of the cycle has been excised from MS 7.



Figure 3.22: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, f. 3r.

It is at this point however, that the Merton Bible departs from the decorative programme found in the *fleuronnée* and the puzzle groups. Instead of beginning a series of historiated or decorated initials or puzzle initials, this Bible continues with the distinctly de Brailean form of semi-bar borders that begin with foliate,

Romanesque style initials that are expanded via dragon extensions in the margins of the folio and the *bas de page*. This programme continues throughout the book. It also continues the use of what may be mosaic gold with a great delicacy of application (Figure 3.23).



Figure 3.23: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, f. 126v.

This decorative programme is not repeated in the de Brailles corpus. Its singularity, in concert with its unique status as the one de Brailles Bible to include a version of the Hebrew Psalms only, indicates a very individual commission.

Italianate Group

Examination of the flourishing in the Italianate group is slightly impeded by the copyright restriction on the New College Psalter by the College, but enough of the manuscript is available through the Bridgeman Art Gallery for a good representative sample of the types of flourishing to be observed, and I was able to examine the volume in person.²⁷⁶ Cockerell's commentary on the New College Psalter places emphasis on the penflourished components of the book. He describes the penwork as:

...a notable feature of the book..in the lower margins. [It] consists of elaborate feather-patterns of burnished gold, red and blue, usually springing from initials. In sections 10-12 [ff. 85-112] and 14 [ff. 123-132] it springs from human heads or from animals.²⁷⁷

The *bas de page* flourishing that Cockerell describes can be identified as Italianate in stylistic derivation. The gatherings that Cockerell notes as containing *bas de page* flourishing which emanates from 'human heads or from animals' demonstrate the adoption of *prolongations à l'italienne* by the de Brailles circle. The example from Psalm 26 with David harping in the historiated initial 'D', displays many of the attributes of the *prolongation à l'italienne* including the grotesque human head spouting a flourish with a strong central line in gold, even if the line is not embroidered. The flourish is strongly symmetrical in *jeux de plume* convention, and it terminates in a head of barley (Figure 3.24).

²⁷⁶ I am grateful to Naomi Van Loo, the College Librarian at New College, for allowing me access to the New College Psalter.

²⁷⁷ See Cockerell, (1930), p. 2.

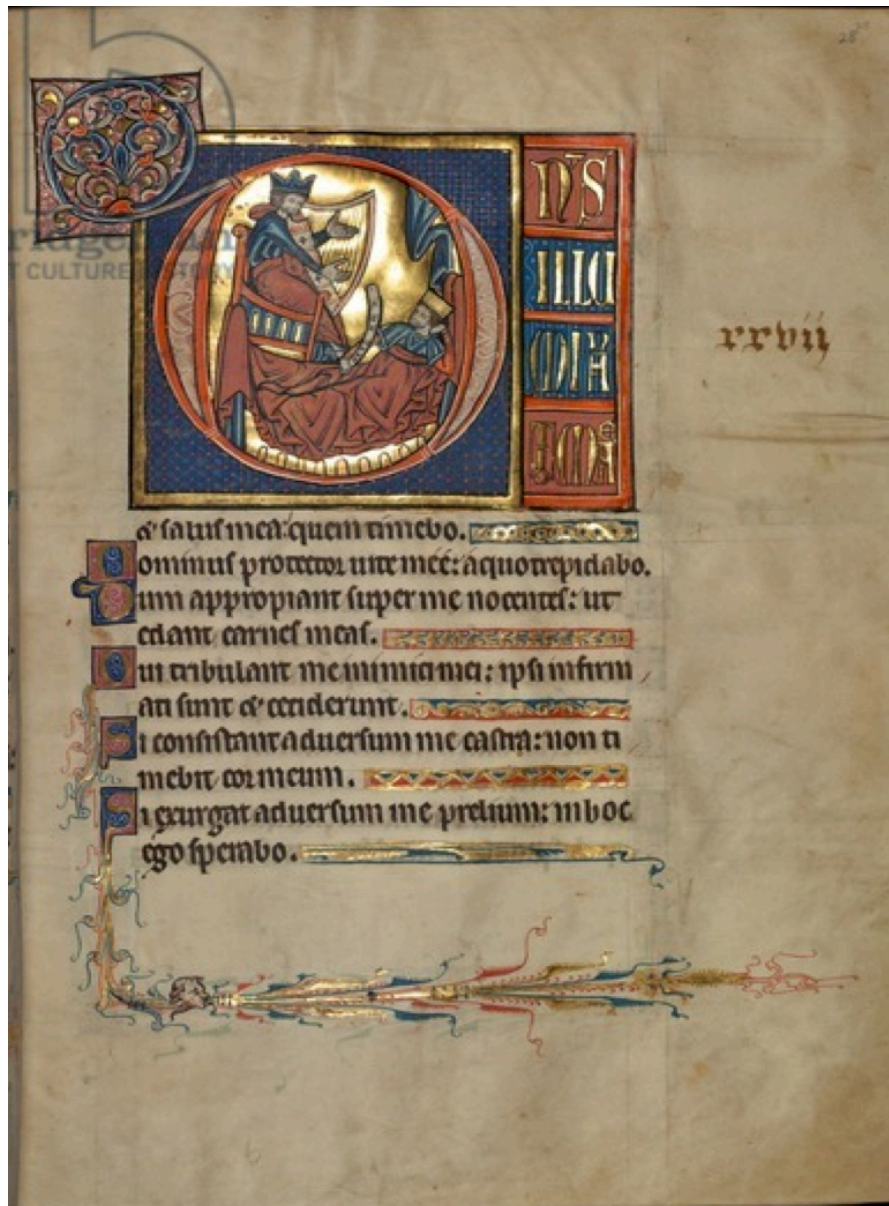


Figure 3.24: Oxford, New College, MS 322, f. 28r.

These horizontal *bas de page* flourishes do not always spring from a grotesque head. They also emerge from flourishes that descend vertically from either miniatures or decorated capitals. In these instances the grotesque is dispensed with and the vertical flourished descending line curves neatly to open up into an Italianate flourish. The example from Psalm 38, showing the Judgment of Solomon, demonstrates this technique (Figure 3.25). There is an embroidered baseline visible in this *prolongation à l'italienne*.



Figure 3.25: Oxford: New College Psalter, MS 322, f. 41v.

The Italianate style does not persist on every folio. Some folios are decorated in a traditional Romanesque format, with line fillers and *bas de page* grotesques, unassociated with the text (Figure 3.26). These folios appear with no flourishing of any type, neither *fleuronnée* nor Italianate *bas de page*.



Figure 3.26: Oxford, New College, MS 322, f. 82v.

It is interesting to note that in many of the folios that can be confidently ascribed to the hand of de Brailes, the new type of Italianate flourishing does not occur. This is also the case for the Book of Hours, although the Stockholm Psalter presents a more complicated case. This final example from the New College Psalter demonstrates this point. The historiated initial is certainly executed by de Brailes, with wavy lines

representing earth, trough-like drapery folds, and a highly burnished gold field for a dramatic historiation of David and Goliath for Psalm 51 (Figure 3.27).



Figure 3.27: Oxford, New College, MS 322, f. 54r.

Penflourishing is not applied in any form. Traditional Romanesque elements including half-folio historiated initials, line fillers composed of geometric forms, a dragon extension grasping the historiated initial and connecting it to the block ornament in the *bas de page*, all indicate a Romanesque approach to book decoration. In this way, the New College Psalter is a transitional work for de Brailles and his

associates. The combination of block ornament and line fillers accompanied by half-page historiated initials is characteristic of Oxford products from the first two decades of the thirteenth century. The Huntingfield Psalter (Oxford, c. 1210-20) shows this earlier style (Figure 3.28).²⁷⁸



Figure 3.28: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 43, f. 156 r.

In the New College Psalter, the flourishing appears to be a separate skill brought in to accommodate the aesthetic preference of the patron. It could also have been suggested by the illuminators of the book to the patron, as a new stylish addition to the decoration of a very expensive commission. While the decision

²⁷⁸. See NJM, *EGM I*, pp. 77-79 for the Huntingfield Psalter, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 43.

regarding the inclusion of Italianate flourishing in this book can only remain speculative, the intention to design the *mise-en-page* with Italianate flourishing is clear. The *bas de page prolongations à l'italienne* are composed largely in gold, with the blue and red flourishes used to highlight the elements of the structure that extend vertically both above and below the baseline of the flourish. Gold also features as a highly burnished field in the historiated initials. The letters of the incipit to each Psalm encapsulated by the historiated initial in a cartouche, are also executed in glimmering gold. Those artists that applied the flourishing and those that added the line fillers and other decorative elements must have worked closely with de Brailes to achieve a consistent design for this Psalter. The resulting book reveals a sophisticated production process.

The Stockholm Psalter is the work that is most closely related to the New College Psalter in form and decorative style. It shares with the New College Psalter a pervasive use of Italianate penflourishing in the *bas de page* of the manuscript. Before Noel's convincing suggestion that the leaves in the Walters and the Marmottan provided the missing prefatory cycle for the Stockholm Psalter, Morgan had argued that the Stockholm Psalter was not the product of de Brailes and his circle.²⁷⁹ Since the work of de Brailes appears once only in the Psalter (the first folio, 111r, of the thirteenth gathering), Morgan had concluded that de Brailes was a minor figure in the context of the production of the book, perhaps supplying this folio because he happened to be in the right place at the right time in order to complete these folios for another group of artists. Morgan proposed London as the place for the production of the Stockholm Psalter. Noel's hypothesis, that the leaves in

²⁷⁹. NJM, *EGM I*, p. 113-14.

Baltimore and Paris belonged to the Stockholm Psalter, brought Morgan's original argument into question. The extensive prefatory cycle, with miniatures painted largely by de Brailes and some assistants, changes de Brailes' status from a contributing artist on this work, to that of the lead artist. The Stockholm Psalter thus becomes a major work of the de Brailes circle. Both Cockerell and Morgan identify five different hands responsible for the decoration in the Stockholm Psalter.²⁸⁰ The work on the de Brailes folio is excluded from these divisions. Cockerell's division of hands concentrates on three major contributors. Hands 4 and 5 contribute only a handful of folios. Cockerell does not divide the hands by the components of the structure of the flourish, but rather by characteristics of the drawing style of the grotesques that often accompany the flourishes. Cockerell defines characteristics for the five hands he identifies including very specific attributes such as the shape of the eyes of fish, although the style of the hands is close. Characteristic of all five flourishing hands is a confidence in execution (Figure 3.29).



Figure 3.29: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 126v.

²⁸⁰ For Cockerell's allocation of hands see *The Work of W. de Brailes, an English Illuminator of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1930), p. 13 and NJM, *EGM I*, pp. 113-14.

The artist known as the Master of the Rochester Breviary is responsible for all of the historiated initials except for that attributed to de Brailes on f. 111r.²⁸¹ His figure style is more delicate than that of de Brailes, and demonstrates new French influence with elongated bodies and a lightening of the lines used for the drapery folds (Figure 3.30). The application of pink circles to the cheeks is also characteristic of Parisian style and appears in examples from the work of the William of Devon group that will be examined in Chapter 4.²⁸²



Figure 3.30: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 28v.

²⁸¹. The flourishing hand that appears on f. 28v. in figure 3.31 may also appear in the Vienna Hours (Vienna: Museum für angewandte Kunst, Cod. Lat. XIV). See the Vienna Hours, f. 153, where this flourisher's signature *prolongations à l'italienne*, which lack a base line and are composed of broad feathered segments, appears in the *bas de page*. The appearance of this flourishing hand in a manuscript that was not produced by the de Brailes circle, but was perhaps made in Oxford contemporaneously, indicates that flourishers as well as illuminators found peripatetic work in the book producing centres such as Oxford in the thirteenth century. See NJM, *EGM* 2, entry 104, pp. 66-67.

²⁸². See NJM, *EGM* 1, p. 111 where Morgan describes the attributes of the style of Master of the Rochester Breviary as 'strong, bright colours, drapery folds strongly delineated in black. The figures are tall and thin and the faces have very little modelling'. See the Rochester Breviary, London, BL, MS Royal, 12 F. xiii (c. 1230, south-eastern England).

Flourishing of the *fleuronnée* and the Italianate variety is used extensively in this production. The flourishing plays a more dominant role in this book than in the New College Psalter. The *fleuronnée* is much more developed than in the New College Psalter, and the visual impact of the flourishing is much stronger. In terms of scale, the grotesques, which often accompany the flourishing, are as large in height as the historiated initials. The *bas de page prolongations à l'italienne* are composed of densely applied gold, with distinctive Bolognese attributes. These *prolongations* seem closer to an Italian source than those found in the New College Psalter. Roundheads are a prominent feature (Figures 3.31 and 3.32).



Figure 3.31: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 32r.



Figure 3.32: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum MS B 2010, f. 23v.

The use of grotesque heads to spout the *prolongations à l'italienne* is another recurring Bolognese element that appears frequently in the bas de page flourishing (Figures 3.33 and 3.34).

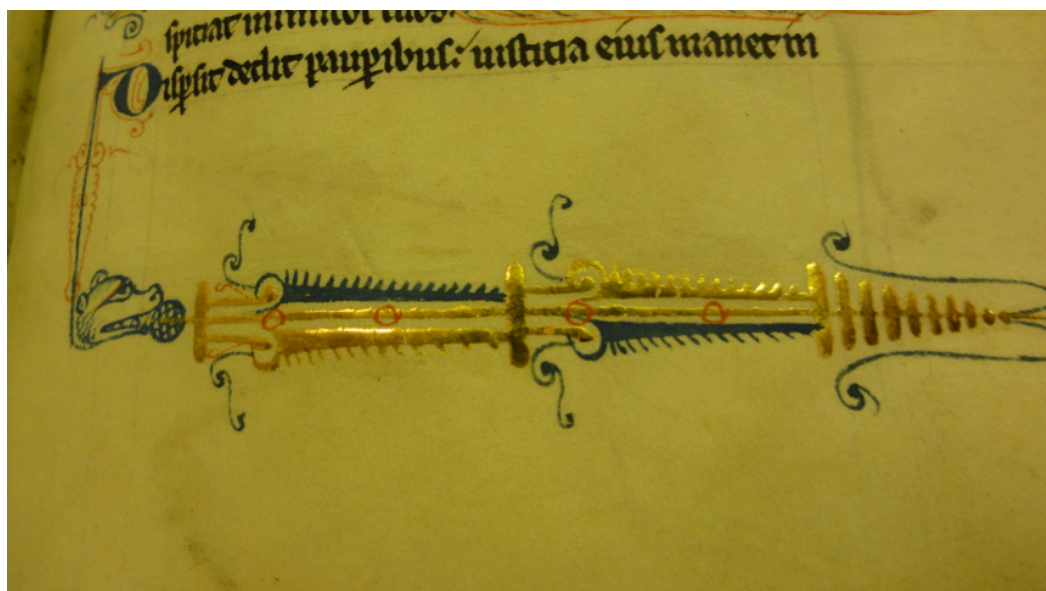


Figure 3.33: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 112r.

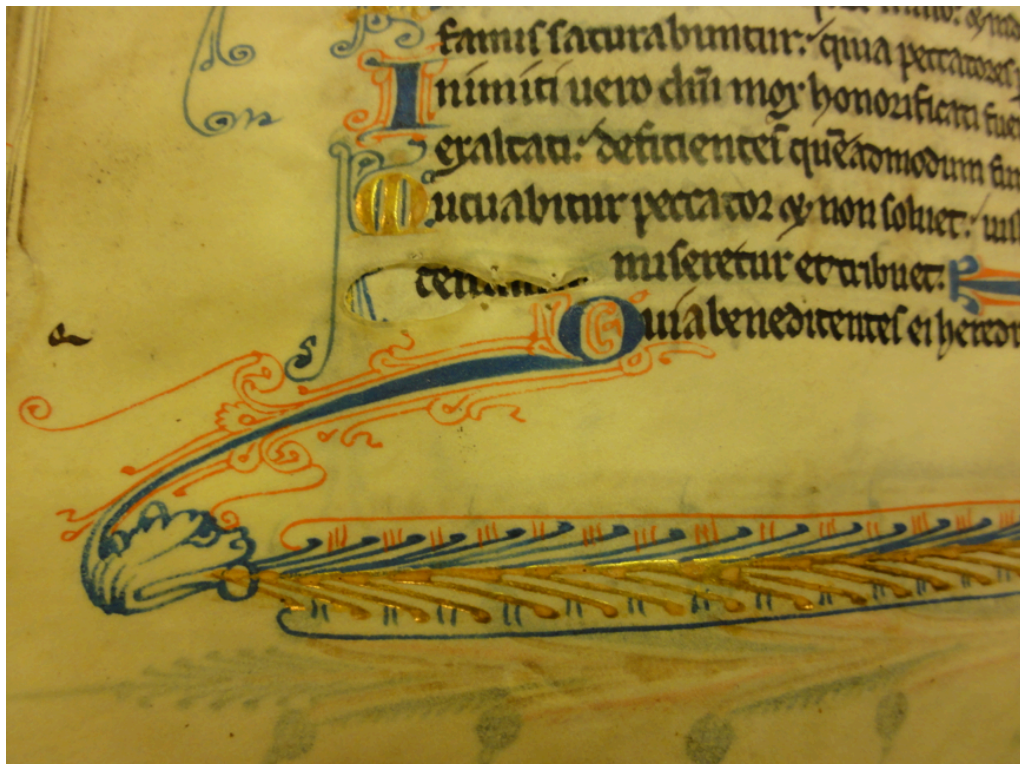


Figure 3.34: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 39v.

One of the flourishing hands often inserts grotesques which sometimes stand independently of the flourish as well as occasionally engaging with the flourishing, either spouting it or observing it. The grotesques are also developed figures, as opposed to the stylized heads that consistently appear in Italian work. In this way, these grotesques show the influence of Parisian work, as in the examples examined in Chapter 3 from the Lewis Psalter and the Psalter of Jeanne de Navarre at the John Rylands in Manchester. The cockerel that spouts the flourish on f. 28r. has been drawn with naturalistic feathers, the flourish seeming to imply his crowing voice (Figure 3.35).



Figure 3.35: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 28v.

The peacock depicted in the *bas de page* of f. 9r shows tremendous attention to detail, particularly with regard to the representation of the iridescent feathers of his tail (Figure 3.36). The only flourishing appears from his beak. The figures and animals that appear in the margins of the Psalter, although detailed, are strikingly different in style than the figures that appear in the historiated initials. The marginal figures and animals are less delicately formed, and they always appear in profile, suggesting that the artist of the marginal work was not as well acquainted with figure drawing as the painters who supplied the historiated initials.



Figure 3.36: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 9r.

These grotesques, which are more naturalistic drawings than creatures of fantasy, show interpretation of French models rather than direct imitation of them. Another interpretive element of the use of Italian penwork is apparent in the cases where the grotesque head is dispensed with altogether (Figure 3.37).



Figure 3.37: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 13v.

Alternatively, an implied scroll is used as a connecting device between the fleuronée surrounding the minor capital and the Italianate *bas de page* flourish (Figure 3.38).



Figure 3.38: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 22v.

The flourishing that appears on the only folio that carries the work of de Brailes in the Stockholm Psalter also carries a form of flourishing which is unique to the book.

It is perhaps significant that this flourishing is a direct copy of *jeux de plume* flourishing in structure and in its compositional elements (Figure 3.39).

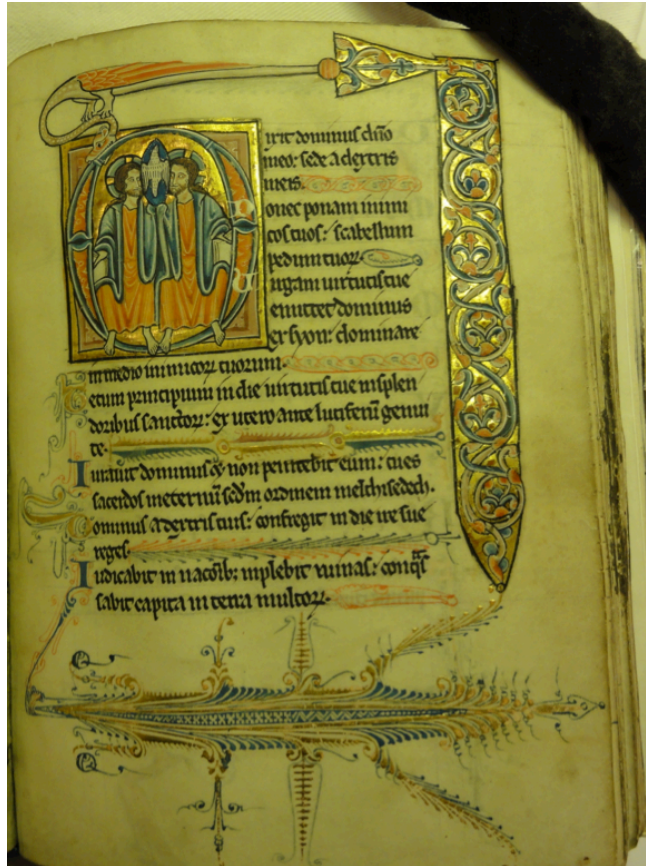


Figure 3.39: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 111r.

The *jeux de plume* flourish emanates from a Bolognese type of grotesque head, which is in turn associated with the initial above. This may suggest that the flourisher also executed the minor initials. The *bas de page* flourish contains an embroidered baseline with at least four sections of geometric infill. Roundheads with their serpent tongues appear symmetrically placed. Shapes that are reminiscent of heads of barley punctuate the middle of the flourish, extending vertically both above and below the centrepoint of the design. There is no evidence to suggest that this *jeux de plume* flourish was executed by de Brailles himself, and it is most likely that it was not. This hand may also have applied the line fillers. The elongated grotesque head in the

ultimate line of the folio is very similar to that which initiates the *jeux de plume* flourish. What the appearance of this flourish does suggest, however, is that William de Brailes was well acquainted with Italian flourishing style, and that he approved its use for what may have been perceived as the most important folio in the Psalter, Psalm 109, '*dixit Dominus Domino meo sede a dextris meis donec ponam inimicos tuos scabillum pedum tuorum* (The Lord said to my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thy enemies thy footstool), the first Psalm of the weekly liturgical cycle. The historiated initial presenting the Trinity is the largest in the Psalter, extending for nine text lines as compared to six or seven for the others in the book.²⁸³ The selection of the flourishing to accompany this work is unlikely to have been a random process, especially in the context of the prominent role of Italianate flourishing in the rest of the Psalter. The placement here of the *jeux de plume* design indicates not only an awareness of this type of *bas de page* embellishment, but also the elevation of *jeux de plume*, most often previously associated with academic texts and originating from the work of Bolognese scribes, to the level of the highest form of textual embellishment. Here, this originally humble form of textual decoration is used to illuminate the Holy Scripture.

On folio 126v, a similar *jeux de plume* flourish appears (Figure 3.40 and 3.41) following the *Itineratum*, a prayer for those about to undertake a journey. '*Adesto, quaesumus Domine, supplicationibus nostris: et viam famulorum tuorum in salutis tuae prosperitate dispone: ut inter omnes viae et vitae huius varietates tuo semper protegatur auxilio*'.²⁸⁴

²⁸³. The Beatus folio is lacking in the Stockholm Psalter, which may have also been of a larger size than the rest of the large initials in the Psalter.

²⁸⁴. See <<http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/Varia.html>>.

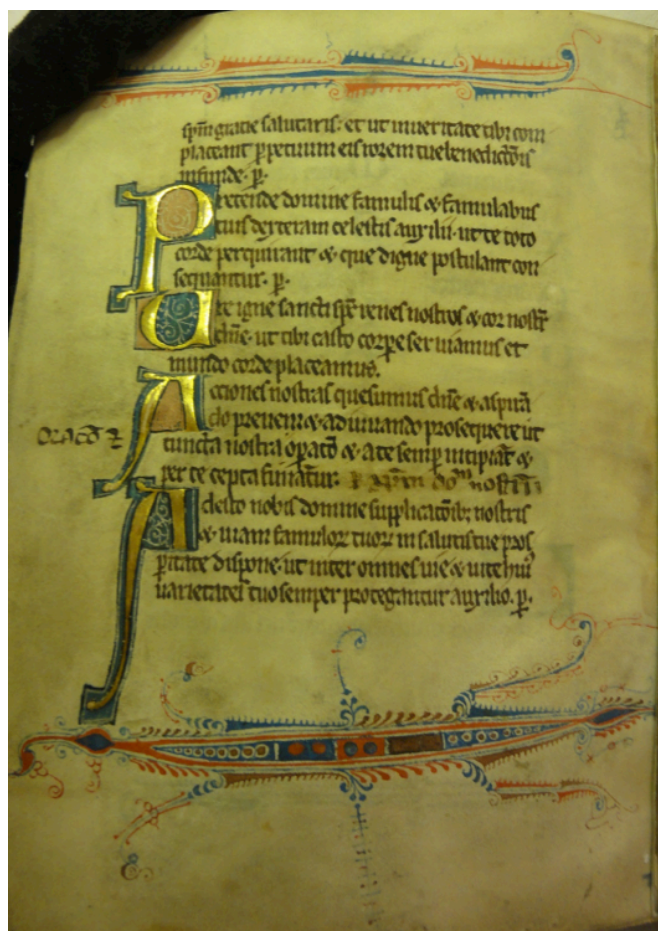


Figure 3.40: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 126v.



Figure 3.41: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 126v. (detail).

This *bas de page* flourish is not executed with the same accomplishment as the flourish on f. 111r, where de Brailes' miniature appears. There are no connecting strokes to anchor this flourish to the main text block. The use of red, blue and brown ink for this structure give it a less impressive appearance than the gold used to decorate the flourish on f. 111r. It is also interesting to note that no line fillers are used on this folio nor *fleuronnée* to surround the *champ* initials. The flourish is somewhat awkwardly formed, with its left hand side being larger than the right. The centre line of the structure is perhaps an attempt to mimic the delicacy of the embroidered baseline of the *jeux de plume* flourish that appears on f. 111r. It may also be possible that the less elaborate appearance of this *jeux de plume* structure is intentional; its more subdued design in keeping with its position in the book as an embellishment to the *Itineratum* as opposed to Psalm 109.

Turning to the Book of Hours, *bas de page* flourishing is again an essential element to *mise-en-page*.²⁸⁵ However, in the Book of Hours, which is perhaps the earliest book in this Italianate group, specific elements of Bolognese style are fewer.²⁸⁶ While the large *bas de page* flourishes on nine folios emanate from a grotesque head in the *prolongation à l'italienne* format, roundheads do not appear (Figure 3.42). A grotesque bird in red ink that appears to spout a flourish in the style of the Stockholm Psalter, appears in only one *bas de page* margin on f. 3r. No other complete figurative grotesques appear in the *bas de page*.

²⁸⁵ The Book of Hours has recently been digitized by the British Library at <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_49999&index=0>.

²⁸⁶ Donovan suggests that the Book of Hours may have been produced as early as 1240. See Donovan (1991), p. 203.

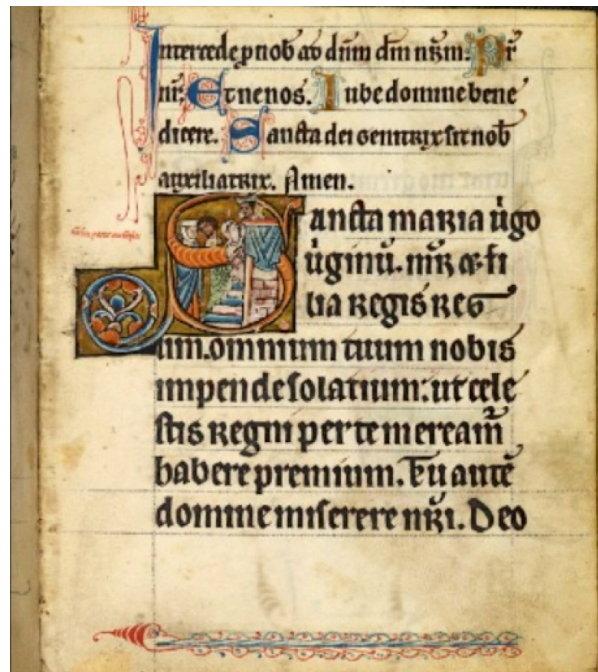


Figure 3.42: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 3r.

Although there are forty folios where *bas de page* flourishing appears, often connected to the text of the folio by a scroll, there are many more folios that either carry no *bas de page* embellishment at all, or carry de Brailean block ornament or Romanesque style dragons in pigment (Figures 3.43 and 3.44).



Figure 3.43: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 28r.



Figure 3.44: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 66r.

It is only on the opening folio of the Book of Hours that *jeux de plume* form is used, with the *bas de page* flourish extending from a grotesque head that spouts a flourish with an embroidered baseline (Figure 3.45). If this use of *jeux de plume* is considered with de Brailes' use of the form for the opening of Psalm 109 in the Stockholm Psalter, the only folio in the Psalter where his hand appears, then it may be suggested that de Brailes specifically used *jeux de plume* to indicate the beginning of a text, and perhaps to associate this type of design with his own ideas regarding *mise-en-page*.



Figure 3.45: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 1r.

The embroidered baseline from the Book of Hours carries a similar design to the less sophisticated *jeux de plume* design in the Stockholm Psalter on f. 159v. In Figure 3.46, the embroidered baseline is composed of red dots enclosed in tiny squares. In the Stockholm Psalter example, the embroidered baseline is also composed of small dots, but these are surrounded by blocks of varying colour. Both *jeux de plume* flourishes also use a connecting scroll to initiate the flourishes above and below the embroidered baseline. The scroll is a prominent motif in the *bas de page* flourishing in the Book of Hours. Sometimes it appears as a connecting device, but more often it is used to provide vertical extensions to the *bas de page* flourish (Figure 3.46).

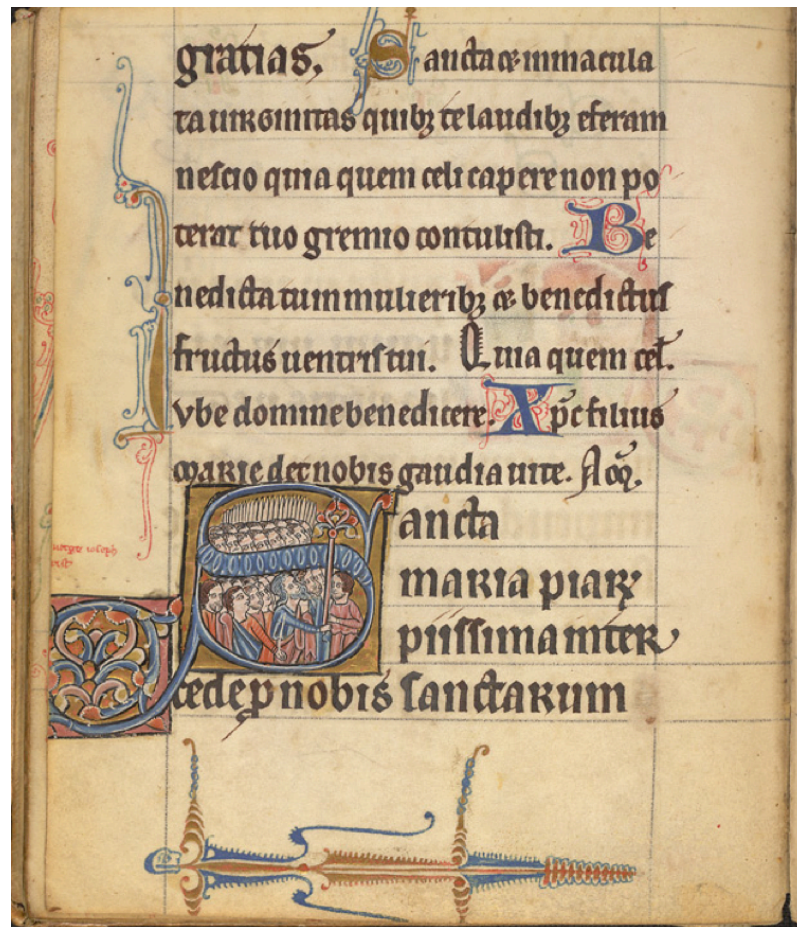


Figure 3.46: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 9v.

There appears to be more Parisian influence to the Book of Hours than the New College Psalter and the Stockholm Psalter. Instead of the recognizable Bolognese elements apparent in the flourishing in the Psalters, the Book of Hours, although it does use *bas de page* flourishing and some Italian influence is evident, seems to echo more precisely the deluxe Parisian Psalters examined in Chapter 2. The role of *fleuronnée* in the Book of Hours is pronounced, similar to its importance to the Parisian Psalters. In some of the folios that do not include *bas de page* work, the *fleuronnée* work extends into the *bas de page*. Also some of the *fleuronnée* in the Book of Hours carries flourished termini. As opposed to the *fleuronnée* that will be

discussed in the *fleuronnée* group and the puzzle group, that plays a background, perhaps more purely functional role in the Bibles in these groups, the *fleuronnée* in the Book of Hours is executed in a bold style and large format. The *fleuronnée* plays an important role in the *mise-en-page* of the Book of Hours as a whole, and in this way the book is more reminiscent of the Parisian Psalters of the first two decades of the thirteenth century than of the Italian-influenced Psalters produced by de Brailes later in his career. Although the Book of Hours uses *bas de page* flourishing as a major decorative theme, the dominating visual effect of the book is its pictorial content. In the important folio depicting the funeral procession of the Virgin, the *bas de page* is occupied by a painted tableau encased in a rectangular frame of the sort used for block ornament. The visual impact of the folio aims to explicate the narrative of the text it illustrates. In this way too, the Book of Hours emulates the Parisian Psalters, where rubricated captions also accompany the historiated initials (Figure 3.47).



Figure 3.47: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, f. 61r.

Fleuronnée Group

Pictorial content is also the most prominent feature of the fleuronnée group of Bibles. This group of Bibles, decorated using a combination of fleuronnée and small historiated and decorated capitals, is composed of Bodleian Library lat. bibl. e.7; BL MS Harley 2813; Gray's Inn MS 24; Gonville and Caius College MS 350/567; and Free Library of Philadelphia MS Lewis E 29. The most significant characteristic of this group of Bibles is the many hundreds of historiated initials they include. A variety of hands executes the initials, and indeed the work of many hands is implied by the sheer quantity of images involved in these products. The combination of small size and easily searchable format is augmented by not only historiated initials but also by rubricated running-titles across the top of the folios. Red and blue chapter and verse incipit letters and numbers also help the reader to negotiate the text efficiently. Marginal penflourishing does occur in these books, but it does not dominate *mise-en-page* as does the flourishing in the Italianate group. The Dominican Bible, Bodleian MS lat. bibl. e. 7 contains somewhat conservative flourishing that is consistently presented in blue and red ink (Figure 3.48).

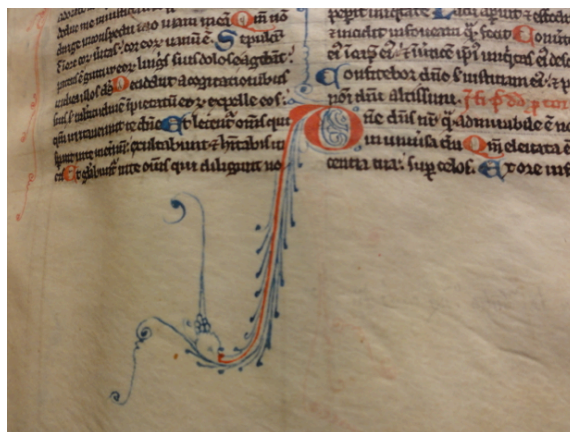


Figure 3.48: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. bibl. e. 7, f. 1r.

The flourishes are composed of varying shapes and structures, including some long extensions into the margins of the folios. They add to the visual variety of the folio while serving as indication of textual organization, but they do not top the hierarchy of decorative components of the folio. The feathered appearance of some of the flourishes indicates Parisian or Italian influence, but *prolongations à l'italienne* and *jeux de plume bas de page* structures do not appear in any of the Bibles in this group. In fact, on many folios of the Bodleian Bible, flourishing does not appear at all (Figure 3.49). Historiated initials with accompanying block ornament or dragon extensions are the dominant decorative motif in this book.

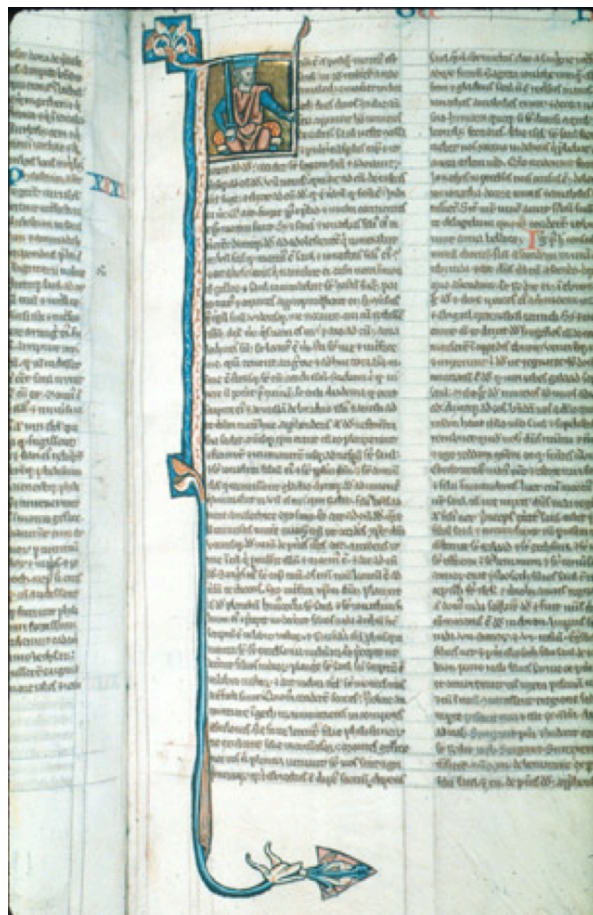


Figure 3.49: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. bibl. e. 7, f. 98r.

Flourishing seems to play a minor role in the decoration of Gonville and Caius College MS 350/567 in particular (Figure 3.50). This Bible carries the highest number of historiated initials in the de Brailes corpus. The flourishing is subdued whenever it occurs at all. This inverse relationship between the use of historiated initials and *fleuronnée* may simply be aesthetic choice, but it may also indicate a variation in price. The cost of many hundreds of historiated initials in a Bible may have precluded the application of flourishing surplus to the requirements of textual negotiation. The small scale of the Bibles in this group may also have made the application of *bas de page* flourishing an aesthetic problem, with the flourishing diminishing the visual impact of the historiated initials.



Figure 3.50: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 350/567, f. 3r.

An important decorative component to the Bibles in the *fleuronnée* group is the addition of figural content at the base of the stem of the historiated initial. In this group of Bibles, where flourishing plays a minor role, the narrative expressed in the historiated initial is sometimes expanded by the addition of a further component of the story presented in the historiated initials. This can be described as a ‘narrative drop’ by which the narrative encapsulated in the historiated initial is augmented by the addition of a figurative painting in pigment. In the opening to IV Kings in the Bodleian Bible e. bibl. lat. e. 7, the King in the historiated initial is possibly Joram, who ruled after the death of his elder brother Ochozias, illustrated at the stem of the letter ‘P’ (*Praevaricatus est autem Moab in Israel, postquam mortuus est Achab/ And Moab rebelled against Israel, after the death of Achab*) (Figure 3.51).²⁸⁷ Ochozias makes the mistake of seeking to consult Beelzebub to discover if he will recover from an illness. The Lord sends word that Ochozias will never rise up from his bed.



Figure 3.51: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. bibl. e. 7, f. 117v.

²⁸⁷. Latin Vulgate and Douay-Rheims translation from: <<http://drbo.org/drl/chapter/12001.htm>>.

The use of the narrative drop is also found in the Franciscan Bible in the BL, as well as the Philadelphia Bible and Gray's Inn Bibles. The suicide of Saul and the following suicide of his armour-bearer, after Saul falls on his own sword after the refusal of the armour-bearer to obey Saul's command to kill him, are dramatically represented by a narrative drop (Figure 3.52).



Figure 3.52: London, Gray's Inn, MS 24, f. 58v.

The most exuberant flourishing to be found in this group is the *fleuronnée* work is found in the Philadelphia Bible. Flourishing appears on almost every folio, with the flourishing extending into the *bas de page* and across the top margin of the folio

(Figure 3.53). The flourishing that accompanies the Psalms is the most extensive in the Book. This is a consistent feature of all the Bibles in the *fleuronnée* group.



Figure 3.53: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 29, f. 88v. (Psalm 109)

The hand that supplies the flourishing uses structural elements identified by Stirnemann in Parisian flourishing c.1230-50 showing the influence of Italian work, especially the *prolongation à l'italienne* (Figure 3.54).²⁸⁸

²⁸⁸ See Stirnemann (1990), pp. 58-73



Figure 3.54: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 29, f. 85r.

This flourishing hand in the Philadelphia Bible shows similar traits to the hand that supplies the flourishing in the Psalms of Bodleian lat. bibl. e 7. The feathered appearance of the flourish often displays heavy punctuation at the end of the feathers, as well as the use of delicate lines to end the flourished structure (Figure 3.55).



Figure 3.55: Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 29, f. 80r.

While fleuronée work is a consistent element in all of the Bibles in this group, flourishing is subordinate to the major illustrative theme of the books. The small-scale historiated initial dominates *mise-en-page* for the *fleuronnée* group.

Puzzle Initial Group

The third group of de Brailes products that can be classified according to penflourishing technique is the puzzle initial group. This group is composed of: Perth MS 462; Bodleian Library MS Laud lat. 13; Christ Church MS 105; and York MS XVI. N. 6. These Bibles follow a pattern of beginning with a historiated or decorated initial for Jerome's Prologue, followed by a historiated series of half or full vesicas to illustrate Genesis. After this, the Bibles are decorated by a series of puzzle initials. The Christ Church Bible deviates slightly with the use of a puzzle initial for the incipit to Jerome's Prologue. In the York Bible, there is an additional historiated initial in the style of de Brailes on f. 165r. Both this initial, as well as the decorated 'F' (*Frater*) for Jerome's Prologue show signs of having been pasted into the book. There is a dark stain around both the historiated initial on f. 165r. and the decorated 'F' on f. 1r. Both initials are slightly raised from the surface of the parchment. It has previously been noted that several initials by de Brailes have been pasted into the New College Psalter. So while the pasting-in of initials does not indicate a lower status for a production, it may indicate some distancing between the illuminator and the final product. The use of puzzle initials for the majority of the decoration of the Bibles in this group may also indicate that de Brailes may not have been the lead organizer in the creation of these books. It is possible that his expertise was called on for the incipits for Jerome's Prologue and for the opening of the Book of Genesis, but beyond this, his hand is not present. The puzzle initials in the Perth Bible and the

Christ Church Bible are the closest in style, although they are not identical with regard to their components. The flourishing as well as the puzzle initials in the York Bible is much more delicate. The York Bible is the smallest in scale, and as such could have been truly portable.

The incipits for Genesis in all four Bibles are very similar in composition. They also share the same selection of images for the Days of Creation ending with the Father raising his hand in benediction (Figure 3.56).

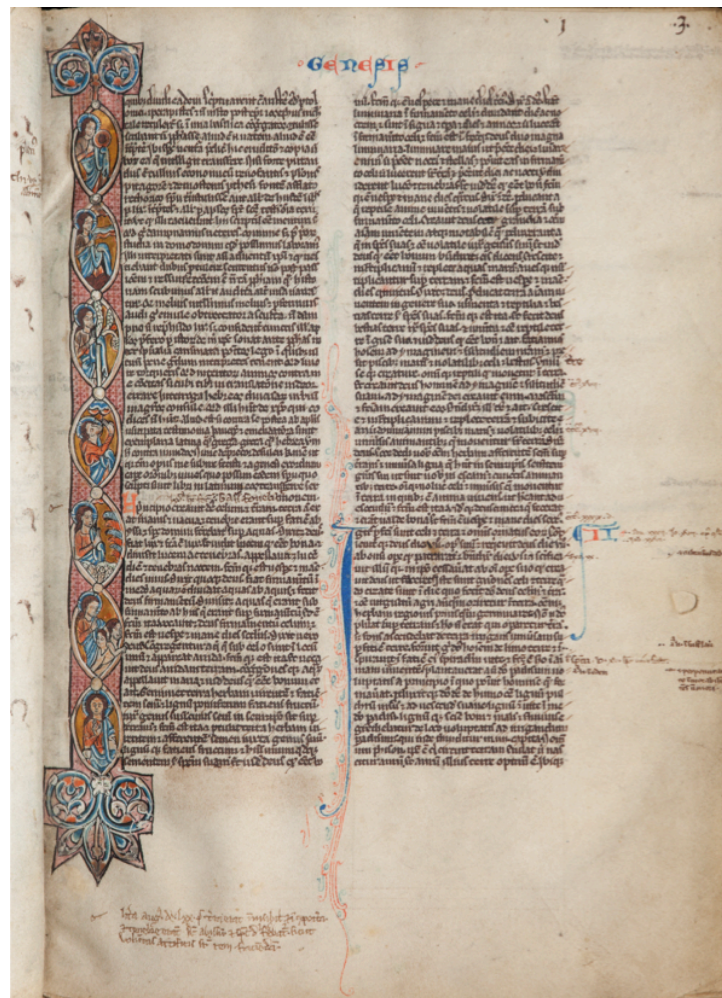


Figure 3.56: Perth, Scotland, Perth Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, unfoliated.

After this appearance by de Brailles, the decoration of the rest of the Bibles is done in puzzle initials for the major openings. While the puzzle initials are impressive in

their complexity and execution, they would most certainly have been a cheaper alternative to illustrative content supplied in pigment.

The puzzle initials in the Perth and Christ Church Bibles show the greatest similarity, but the Perth puzzle initials show most variety in form and structure. The incipit for Tobias demonstrates an unusual curving ‘T’ (Tobias) (Figure 3.57).



Figure 3.57: Perth, Scotland, Perth Art Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, unfoliated

The puzzle initials are also surrounded with delicate *fleuronné* work of concentric circles building upon themselves in volume. The Psalms carry the most extensive use

of *fleuronnée* in these Bibles, as found in the previous *fleuronnée* group (Figure 3.58).

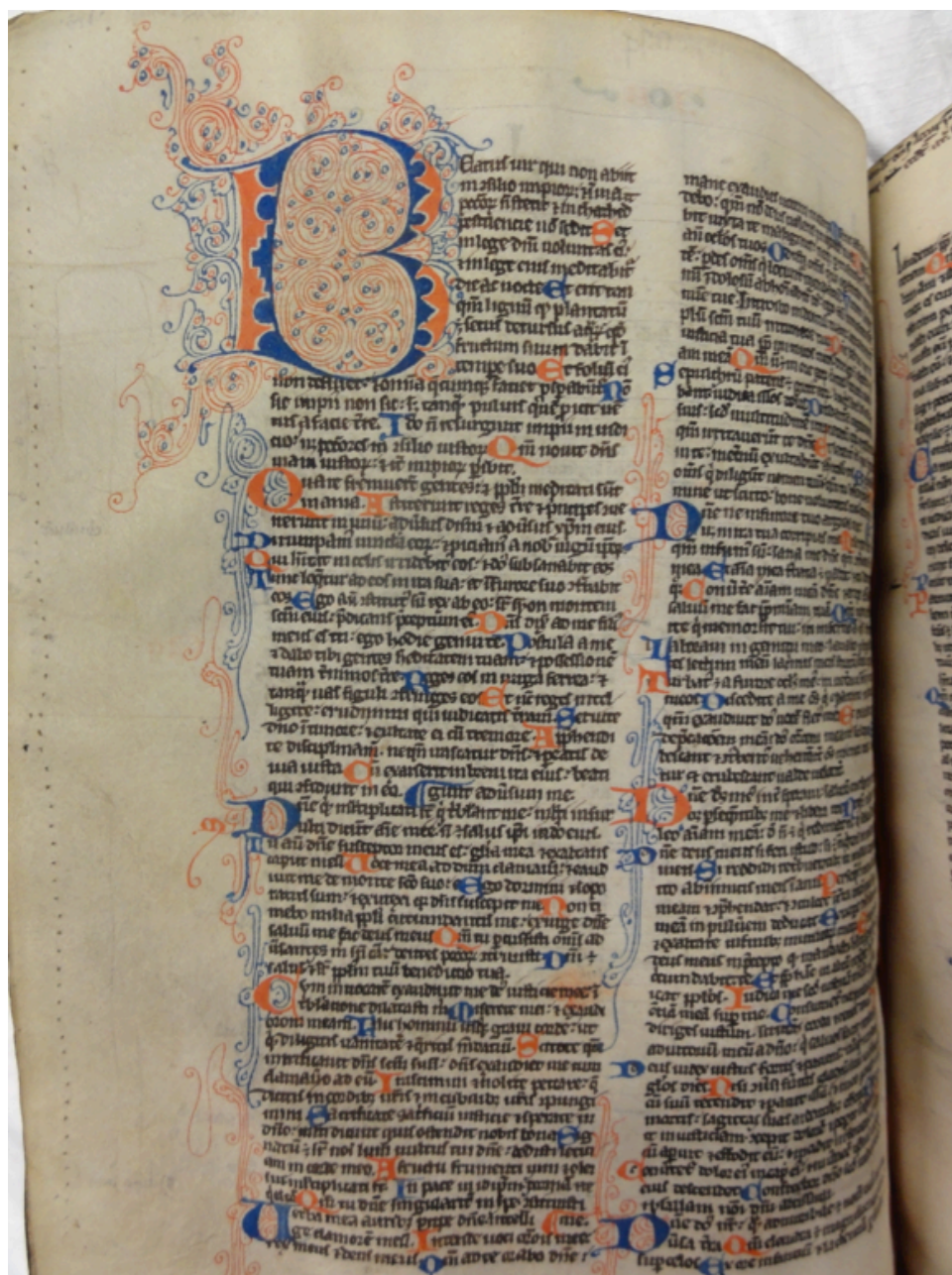


Figure 3.58: Perth, Scotland, Perth Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, unfoliated

The appearance of filigree puzzle initials in the second quarter of the twelfth century in France has been previously discussed above.²⁸⁹ The only evidence of Italian influence in the Perth, York and Christ Church Bibles occurs on the opening

²⁸⁹ See above, Chapter 2, p. 1-2.

folio of the Perth Bible. The flourish across the *bas de page*, although it excludes the use of a grotesque head, shows the form of a *prolongation à l'italienne* (Figure 3.59).

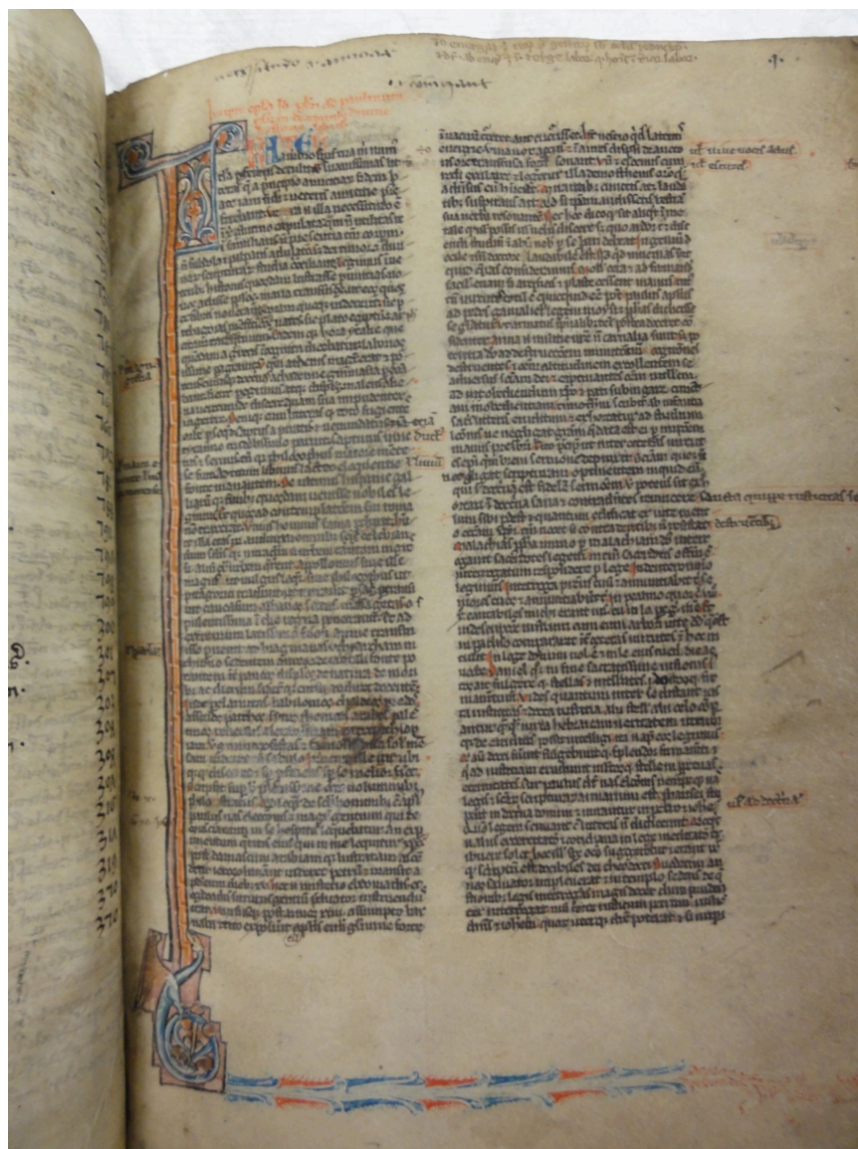


Figure 3.59: Perth, Scotland, Perth Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462, unfoliated

Italian influence is clear, however, in Bodleian Laud lat 13. The Bible begins in a similar format to the other three Bibles in the puzzle-initial group. The Prologue of Jerome begins with a decorated initial (Figure 3.60). The stem of the second decorated initial in the first column of text terminates with a dragon extension in the *bas de page*.

Genesis follows in very similar form to the three other Bibles. Puzzle initials follow to complete the decorative programme, but in Bodleian Laud lat 13 the puzzle initials show Bolognese attributes. The puzzle initials precede the incipit for the Book, in blue ink on a field of red flourishing with blue circles in the background. The incipit

is finished on one side with blue carpet knots, in Bolognese style. In the incipit for Exodus there is a spelling mistake in the word 'sunt', in which the 'n' of the word has been omitted (Figure 3.61).



Figure 3.61: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud lat. 13, f. 16r.

This may be just an oversight, but it may perhaps indicate a flourisher or scribe working in a new format, in which the incipit for the Book is applied in the Bolognese manner.

By dividing the de Brailes corpus into three groups in which flourishing appears in different formats, it is possible to observe a standard use of specific types of flourishing for specific types of books. The most deluxe books carry Italianate flourishing which dominates the design of the books. The Bibles that feature many hundreds of historiated initials use the most conservative amount of flourishing of

the *fleuronnée* type. The third group of Bibles employs puzzle initials for the majority of their decorative programmes, with the least amount of input from either de Brailes himself or a close associate. Both Italian and French influence is evident in the flourishing in the corpus, but the strongest appearance of Bolognese style is in the most deluxe manuscripts produced by de Brailes. By separating the corpus by flourished methodology, it is also possible to suggest that the use of puzzle initials would have made it possible to widen the production circle, by the use of other artists, perhaps specialist flourishers, to complete the books, while the main artist could move on to other projects.

Italian Influence in the Rutland and Oscott Psalters

Italian style is present in other major works of the thirteenth century. The Rutland Psalter (BL, Add MS 62925, England, c. 1260) demonstrates not only the adoption but also the inventive application of Italian decorative style.²⁹⁰ *Jeux de plume* structures abound in the *bas de page*, complete with embroidered baselines and head of barley termini (Figure 3.62).

²⁹⁰ The Rutland Psalter has been digitized in its entirety by the British Library. See http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=add_ms_62925. For the Rutland Psalter see E. M. Thompson, 'Notes on the Illuminated Manuscripts in the Exhibition of English Medieval Paintings', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd Series, 16 (1895-1897), p. 220, Lucy Freeman Sandler, 'A Series of Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter', *Marsyas: Studies in the History of Art* 8 (1959), pp. 70-74, Lilian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), p. 10, figs. 40, 101, 103, 202, 321, 362, 382, 416, 451, 454, 458, 502, 547, 663, 718, 731, 739, Nigel Morgan, 'The Artists of the Rutland Psalter', *British Library Journal*, 13. 2 (1987), 159-85, NJM, *EGM* 2, no. 112, Alixe Bovey, *Monsters and Grotesques in Medieval Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 2002) p. 51, fig. 43, Scot McKendrick and Kathleen Doyle, *Bible Manuscripts: 1400 Years of Scribes and Scripture* (London: British Library, 2007), p. 109, fig. 96.



Figure 3.62: London, BL, Add. MS 62925, f. 11v.

There is a strong link between the line fillers and the marginal decoration on the folios that carry Italianate flourishing. The flourishing for Psalm 8 on f. 13r links the line filler physically to the marginal decoration. The *jeux de plume* flourish in the *bas de page* carries vertical, symmetrical extensions, which replicate the structures used in the de Brailes Book of Hours for Psalm 1 (Figure 3.63).

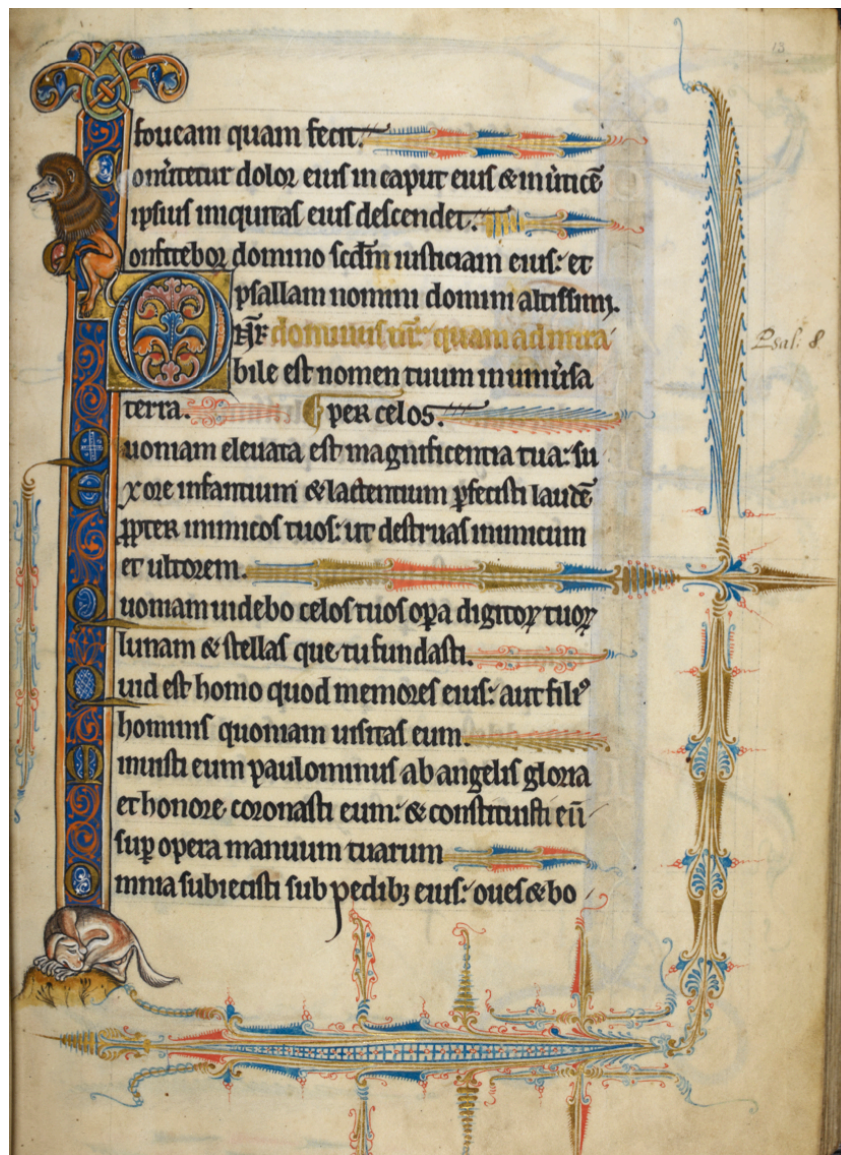


Figure 3.63: London, BL, Add. MS 62925, f. 13r.

In the following example, the flourishing hand has applied the *jeux de plume* in the right-hand margin of the folio (Figure 3.64). The *bas de page* was the traditional site for *jeux de plume* in twelfth-century Italian examples. In the Rutland Psalter, the Italianate form has been both adopted and adapted for use in this luxury book. The production location of the Rutland Psalter is unknown and London has been

suggested as its place of origin.²⁹¹ Wherever it was produced, it is evidence of the pervasive influence of Italian decorative style, originating in Bologna, in English book decoration in the thirteenth century.

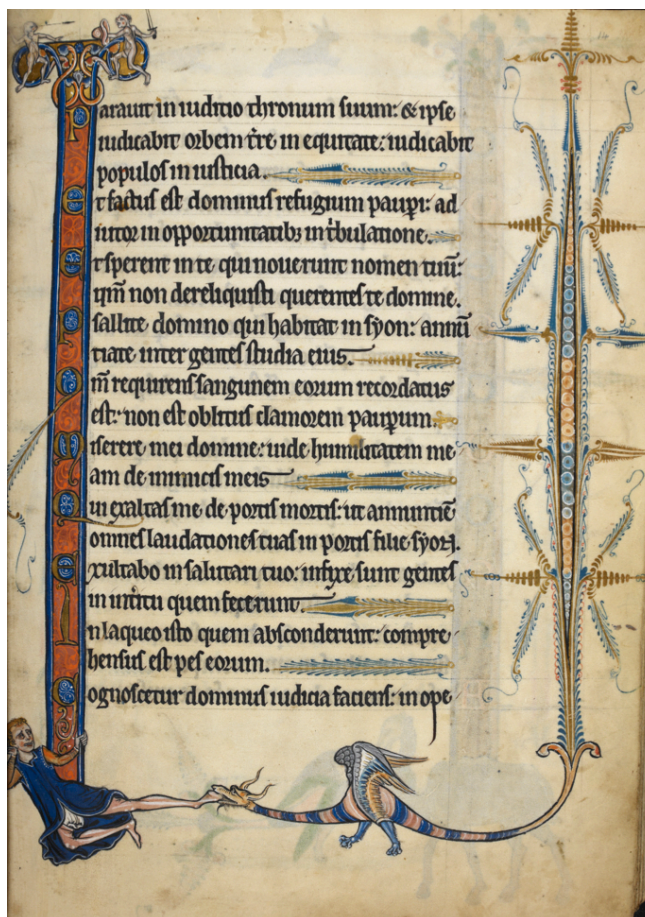


Figure 3.64: London, BL, Add. MS 62925, f. 14r.

The Oscott Psalter, BL Add. MS 50000 (England, 1265-70?) demonstrates French influence with regard to figure style as well as flourishing.²⁹² While

²⁹¹. See the complete digitized manuscript and its catalogue entry at: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=add_ms_62925>.

²⁹². The Oscott Psalter can be viewed at: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_50000_fs001r>. See also G. Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins* (Oxford, 1920), no. 11, pp. 40-47, Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting 1200-1500* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981), pls 14, 15, NJM, *EGM* 2, no. 151 and Rodney M. Thomson and others, 'Technology of Production of the Manuscript Book', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge: University Press, 1999-), II: 1100-1400, ed. by Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (2008), pp. 75-109 (p. 94).

prolongations à l'italienne do appear, their nature is delicate and restrained in comparison to the exuberant *bas de page prolongations* in the Italianate de Brailes group (Figure 3.65).

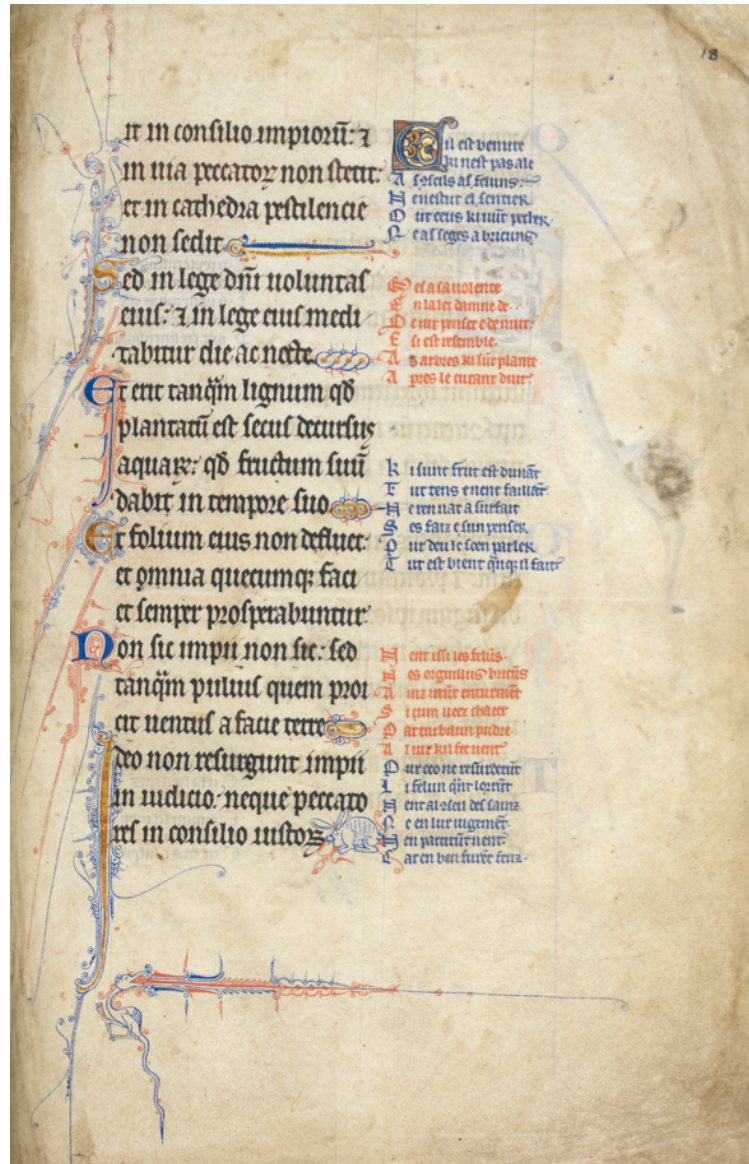


Figure 3.65: London, BL, Add. MS 50000, f. 18r.

Both the appearance of naturalistic grotesque birds atop semi-bar borders (Figure 3.66) and the diagonal direction of *bas de page* flourishes (Figure 3.67), indicates French influence, which will be discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to the William of Devon Group.



Figure 3.66: London, BL, Add. MS 50000, f. 48r.

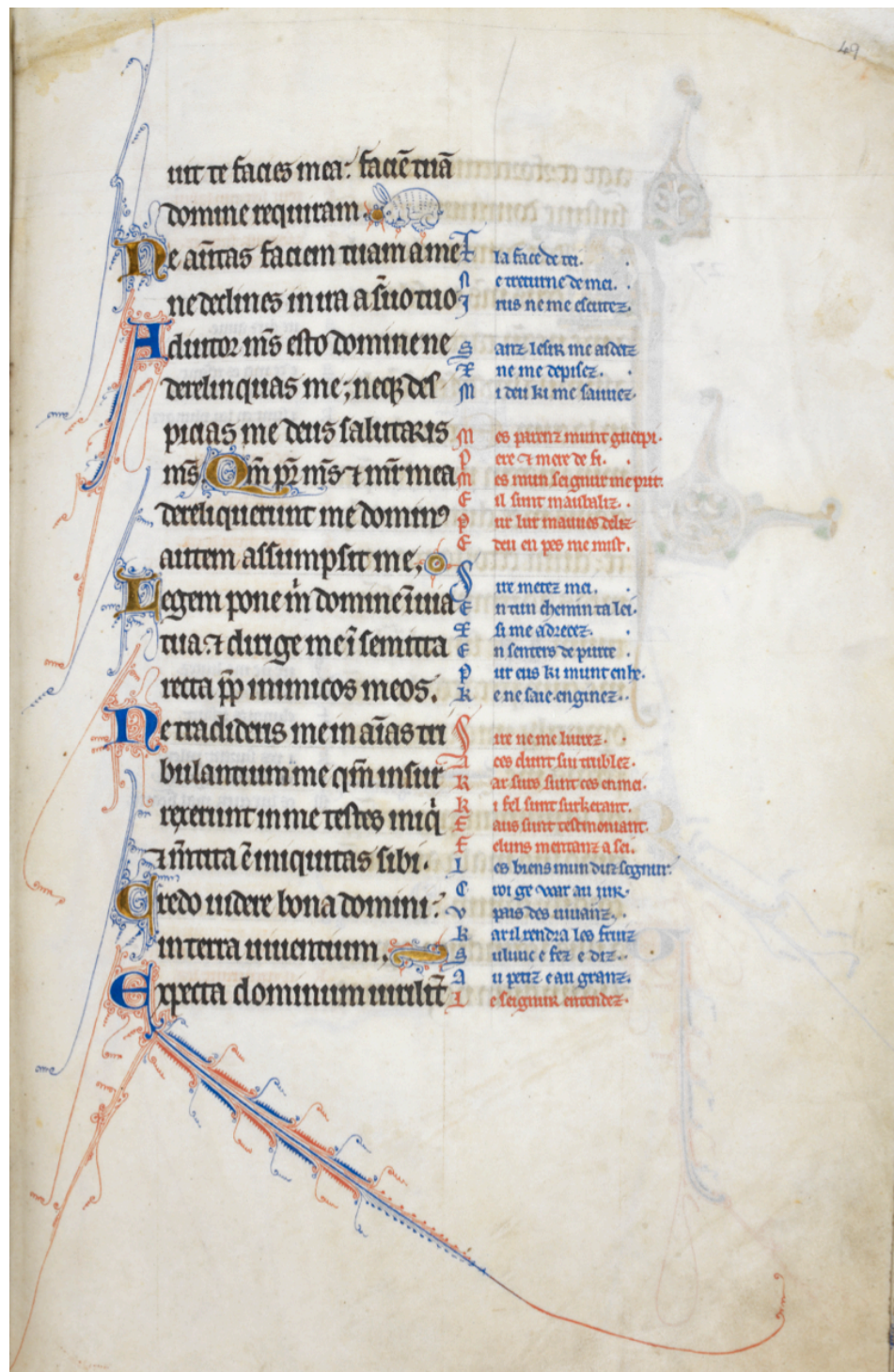


Figure 3.67: London, BL. Add. MS 50000, f. 49r.

The use of rabbits, squirrels and grotesques wearing tall pointed caps, are further Parisian features found also in the works of the William of Devon group (Figure 3.68).

from thirteenth-century Oxford, and his employment of flourishers who could execute Italian flourishing technique is an early example of this style in luxury English books. The exact replication of *jeux de plume* in two separate books, the Stockholm Psalter and the Book of Hours, on folios that include the work of de Brailes alone for the historiated initials, documents his interest in the new style as well as his use of it in a prominent position in the book. The use of *prolongations à l'italienne* in both the Stockholm and the New College Psalters, as well as the Book of Hours, indicates further his adoption of Italianate techniques for decorative embellishment to his most luxurious products. This replication of style with specific Bolognese forms such as embroidered baselines, heads of barley and roundheads, indicates that de Brailes' flourishers were copying with Italianate models close at hand. The delicacy of the *jeux de plume* and the *prolongations à l'italienne* contrast sharply with the solid block ornament also used in these books. This Romanesque element of book decoration, which must have been a consistent element during de Brailes' own training as an illuminator in the first decades of the thirteenth century, is to be superseded by the development of marginal embellishment as the thirteenth century proceeds. The role of Italian influence in the development of the framed border of the fourteenth century folio is an important one, and de Brailes' use of Bolognese techniques seems to have played a significant part in introducing the use of these techniques to luxury thirteenth-century books.

Perhaps de Brailes' list of innovations should not surprise us. The surviving records indicate that Oxford was the foremost centre for producing books in thirteenth-century England. The competitive environment of this city of accomplished book artisans must have surely necessitated creative flair to ensure survival in the book-producing community. The remarkable number of survivals

associated with de Brailes and his associates is a testament to his success, and to the appetite of thirteenth-century patrons for new types of books with innovative decorative techniques used for the most luxurious examples. The great variety demonstrated by the contents of the Bibles in the de Brailes corpus suggests close patron involvement with regard to the composition of the books. Variation in decorative methodology for the Bibles further suggests patron choice dictated perhaps by devotional inclination, aesthetic preference and the limits of expenditure. Perhaps some of de Brailes' success stemmed from a non-specialist approach to the production of books. His works include intellectually sophisticated commissions, such as Merton MS 7, with its inclusion of the Hebraic Psalms only, and the clearly laid out and innovative Book of Hours, with helpful rubrics in Anglo-Norman to assist the secular female patron in its use.

In the next chapter, decorative technique in the two largest surviving groups of manuscripts contemporary to de Brailes will be examined. This comparison will enable us to evaluate the influence of Italian style, and the use of *fleuronnée* and filigree puzzle initials in the context of two major production groups that both overlap with de Brailes. The work of the Sarum Master begins before de Brailes, and the work of the William of Devon group succeeds him. Comparison of the decorative content of these two groups will enable us to evaluate further the role of Italian influence on de Brailes' decorative style.

Chapter Four

The Role of Penflourished Decoration in the Works of the Sarum Master and the Circle of William of Devon

In the corpus of manuscripts attributed to William de Brailes and his associates, penflourished decoration was utilized in three different applications: the conventional use of *fleuronnée* penwork in conjunction with historiated initials for small format Bibles, the employment of filigree puzzle initials in Bibles that have little illustrative content from de Brailes or close associates, and the use of flamboyant Italian-influenced *bas de page* penwork in the form of *jeux de plume* designs and *prolongations à l'italienne* that dominate the *mise-en-page* of the luxury Psalters and the Book of Hours. In order to assess the role of flourishing in the de Brailes corpus, it is possible to compare its application in the de Brailes group to two other contemporaneous circles; the manuscripts illuminated by the Sarum Master, active c. 1245-55, most probably in the vicinity of Old Sarum, and those attributed to the slightly later William of Devon group which was based possibly in Oxford c. 1260-80.²⁹³ This comparison will discuss the use of the flourishing types identified in the de Brailes group in manuscripts associated with these specific contemporaneous production groups, and to ascertain if de Brailes' methodology with regard to decorative technique is conventional or progressive. It will also be possible to identify components of the William of Devon and Sarum Master groups to interrogate their individuality with regard to decorative style, and to assess the role of decorative components in the development of a 'house style' in the context of

²⁹³. See NJM, *EGM* 2, for the Sarum Master, pp. 52-66; for entries 97-103. For the William of Devon group see pp. 152-62; for entries 159-164.

commercial book production in the thirteenth century.

As is the case in the de Brailles corpus, colophons survive from both the Sarum Master and the William of Devon groups. In both instances, the colophons are scribal. In the Sarum Master group, the Bible of William of Hales (London, British Library, Royal MS 1 B. xii) carries a colophon that gives the name of the scribe, William of Hales (Figure 4.1).

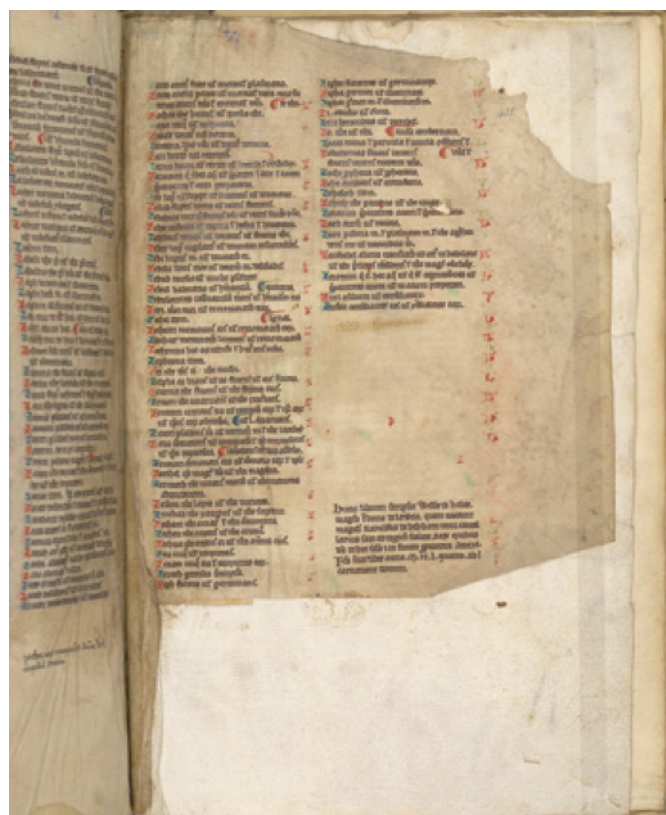


Figure 4.1: London, BL, Royal MS 1 B. xii, f. 435r.

The Bible was written by Hales in 1254 for Thomas de la Wile who it is recorded was chosen by Ralph of Hehham (Hotham), the chancellor of Salisbury, to be head of the schools there.²⁹⁴ This identification of the patron of the Bible as Thomas de la

²⁹⁴ See NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 61-62 for description of London, BL, Royal MS 1 B. xii. The inscription on f. 143r reads: 'Hunc librum scripsit Willelmus de Hales, magistro Thome de la Wile, quem vocavit magister Radulfus de Hehham tunc cancellarius Sarisburiensis ad regimen scholarum Sarisburiensium quibus deus in hoc seculo et in future propicietur. Amen. Factus fuit liber anno MCCL quarto ab

Wile confirms the high status of the commission and very unusually includes the date of its completion, 1254.²⁹⁵ The William of Devon group contains a scribal colophon for the Bible that gives the group its name, London, BL, Royal MS 1 D. i, ‘The Bible of William of Devon’. The colophon reveals that the Bible was written by the scribe, William of Devon (Figure 4.2).²⁹⁶ In the traditional form of a scribal explicit, William gives thanks to the Lord Jesus Christ, the Virgin and all the saints and follows his thanks with the colophon: ‘*Willelmus Devoniensis scripsit istum librum.*’

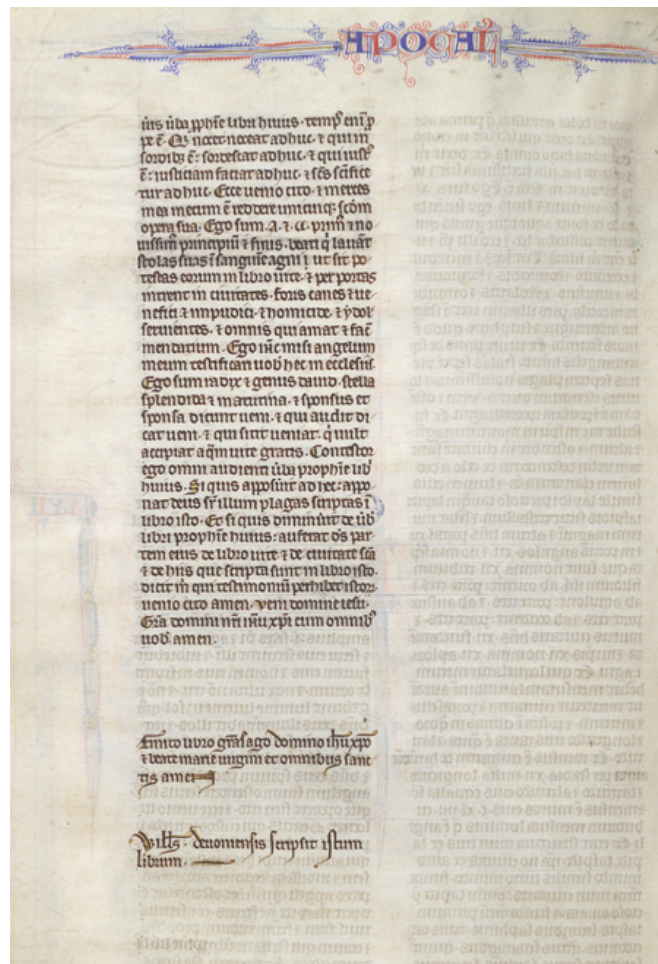


Figure 4.2: London, BL, Royal MS 1 D. i, f. 540v.

incarnatione domini. See <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=39682>>.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁶ See NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 152-54 for London, BL, MS Royal 1 D. i.

No further information is supplied; the patron of the Bible is unknown, although the presence of portraits of four orders of friars on the opening folio of the Bible indicates that this may have been a commission from a patron with a strong interest in the new religious houses that developed from the second decade of the century. The Franciscans stand atop the pillar on the left hand margin of the folio, beneath the peacock. The Dominicans are in the top right hand corner, both strong presences in thirteenth-century Oxford, where this Bible was most probably made. The figures in the lower right hand margin wearing striped habits have been identified as Carmelites.²⁹⁷ Bennett suggests that the figures that wear white in the lower left hand margin are Pied Friars. Morgan argues that it is more likely that the more numerous Trinitarian Order is represented here (Figure 4.3).²⁹⁸

^{297.} NJM, *EGM* 2, p. 154, notes that the Carmelites replaced their striped habits with white habits worn over brown mantles in 1287.

^{298.} *Ibid.* See NJM, *EGM* 2, p. 153. He suggests that these figures may be Trinitarians, an order that was established in England in 1224. Trinitarians wore a white habit with a white mantle underneath which carried a red cross. Morgan argues that there were few Pied Friars in England at the time the Bible was produced (c. 1260-70), with only a few houses in Oxford and Cambridge emanating from the founding house in Norwich in 1253, making their representation here less likely than the more numerous Trinitarians. See also Adelaide L. Bennett, 'Additions to the William of Devon Group', *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), 31-40. (p. 37).



Figure 4.3: BL, Royal MS 1 D. i, f. 1r.

Comparison of the hands of William of Hales and William of Devon reveals strong differences in letter formation that are consistent with the evolution of Gothic script in the thirteenth century. While both hands are undoubtedly confident and professional, William of Devon uses greater compression of script than William of Hales. In addition William of Devon has largely abandoned the *textualis quadrata* ‘d’ with a counter curved stem **d** in favour of the straight stem **d**. In neither case is

there mention of the identity of the artists responsible for the Bibles' production. So while scribal colophons are unusual in thirteenth-century texts, the survival of the de Brailes colophon that identifies the maker of the images in the book is nearly unique.²⁹⁹ The only other surviving colophon by the maker of the images in a manuscript in the thirteenth century appears in the *Historia Anglorum* (*Chronica Minora*).³⁰⁰ This is the work of Matthew Paris, the chronicler monk of St Albans Abbey. Matthew labels his self-portrait 'Frat[er] Mathiaus Parisiensis'. He depicts himself in prayer below the image of the Virgin and Child (Figure 4.4).³⁰¹



Figure 4.4: London, BL, Royal MS 14 C. vii, f. 6r.

²⁹⁹. See Michael Gullick, 'Self-referential Portraits of Artists and Scribes in Romanesque Manuscripts', in *Pen in Hand: Medieval Scribal Portraits, Colophons and Tools*, ed. by Michael Gullick (Stevenage: Red Gull Press, 2006), pp. 97-114. Gullick has collected approximately 250 'self-portraits' of scribes and artists, although he does not specify the time frame for this collection. In this article he describes 'self-referential' portraits in eleven manuscripts, two of which are from the thirteenth century. Gullick classifies pictures of figures in the process of painting as self-portraits even if the figure is not accompanied by an identifying name. De Brailes is the only example here of a self-proclaimed artist.

³⁰⁰. For British Library Royal MS 14 C. vii, see <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_14_c_vii>.

³⁰¹. In 'En Route to Salvation with William de Brailes', *Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature, and Translation; Studies for Keith Sinclair*, ed. by Peter Rolfe Monks and David D.R. Owen (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 83-90. Lilian C. Randall argues that the three de Brailes colophons (and Randall suggests a fourth) represent de Brailes as a 'scribe-artist' in the style of Matthew Paris. The organization of the Oxford book trade, as well as the variety of hands which appear in the large corpus of de Brailes manuscripts, makes this seem unlikely.

Matthew identifies himself here as the scribe and the illustrator of his chronicle, and as a monk. The colophons from William of Hales and William of Devon are toponyms; no title, such as *frater*, precedes their names. The colophons indicate only the origin of the person who supplied the inscription. These are commercial scribes, unassociated with a monastic establishment, excepting of course a patronal relationship, whereby the monastery would employ an itinerant scribe or artist for a commission. The presence of these colophons suggests the beginning of a commercial self-awareness with regard to scribal work at least. De Brailes' self-representation in his colophons is more complex, in that he has no title, and wears the habit of no recognizable order. He is tonsured, but he also has a wife. This may indicate that de Brailes was a cleric in minor orders.³⁰² The colophons identify him as the maker of the images in which he appears, and imply that he was the artist who executed the major work in both the Book of Hours and the lost Psalter now represented by the Fitzwilliam and Pierpont Morgan leaves. This self-representation is a new commercial manifestation of the scribal colophon in the context of a commercial illuminator.

Like the William de Brailes group, both the Sarum Master and the William of Devon circle have distinctive attributes with regard to figure style and *mise-en-page* that allow them to be identified with respective circles of scribes and illuminators and perhaps specialist decorators who work together to produce the various elements required for the production of a book. With regard to analysis of the penwork that embellishes these books, there are significant differences as to placement and style. As in the William de Brailes group, the absence of penflourishing is just as

³⁰². See Donovan, pp. 9-15, and William Noel, *The Oxford Bible Pictures; MS W.106, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, and the Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris* (Luzern, Faksimile Verlag Luzern, 2004) pp. 39, 43, 48-51.

significant with regard to *mise-en-page* as its presence. The type of flourishing applied is also important in analysing the role of flourishing within the groups. The decision to use *fleuronnée*, filigree puzzle initials or semi-bar borders in developing the *mise-en-page* for a book signifies not only patron preference but also the perceived style of these commercial circles. The presence of different types of decorative methodologies, as discussed in Chapter 3, concerning the use in the de Brailes books of *fleuronnée* only, filigree puzzle initials or Italianate flourishing, indicates that perhaps the lead artist or organizer of the production of the book had at his disposal either scribes or specialist flourishers who could accommodate a variety of aesthetic inclinations as well as financial constraints dictated by clients.

The work of the Sarum Master is perhaps exactly contemporaneous to the major work of de Brailes. If the Sarum Master was at the height of his powers c. 1250-55, when the Amesbury and Wilton Psalters were produced, de Brailes was also an established artist by this time. The de Brailes Book of Hours dates from c. 1240, certainly after the establishment of the Dominican House in Oxford in 1234.³⁰³ Although both of these commercially successful production-groups were associated with thriving commercial centres that also hosted burgeoning student populations and large ecclesiastical communities, there are differences in their chosen styles in terms of the evolving *mise-en-page* of the thirteenth century. Both de Brailes' and the Sarum Master's attributed manuscripts can be viewed as works in an English style, but de Brailes' productions shows the adoption of new decorative influences while the Sarum Master retains a backward-looking style, harking back to the turn of the century. With regard to decorative technique, de Brailes work foreshadows the

³⁰³ See Chapter 3, p. 194.

developments of the rest of the century, while the Sarum Master's technique for book decoration is traditional, echoing techniques developed in the beginning of the century.

The work of the Sarum Master shows the marked influence of earlier painting style in England, with particular reference to the monumental style of the Westminster Psalter.³⁰⁴ The use of penwork in the Sarum Master's books also looks back to the turn of the century. In contrast, the figure style and penwork in the William of Devon group not only reflects the Continental, particularly Parisian training of this group with regard to figure style and *mise-en-page*, but also to the developments in penflourished decoration that will strongly impact book design in the fourteenth century. The work of de Brailes in this context shows elements of the penflourished style of both groups, but the use of Italianate *bas de page* work so central to de Brailes' deluxe products is an important and individual contribution to the development of English style as the century proceeds. By examining the penwork in the works of the Sarum Master and the William of Devon circle, it is possible to see the continuity of style and application techniques in de Brailes' work, but also the strong influence of Italian style.

The emphasis of this analysis will echo the approach that was employed for the study of the de Brailes group. Broad stylistic application of penflourishing as opposed to microanalysis of the formation of *fleuronnée* will reveal the treatment of *mise-en-page* in these two groups, in contrast to that displayed by de Brailes and his associates. The compressed *fleuronnée* and filigree technique of the Sarum Master

³⁰⁴. See NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 55-56, no. 99, on this point. Morgan also suggest that the facial style and fold forms of the Sarum Master are related to the figure forms in the Chapel of the Guardian Angels in Winchester Cathedral (p. 56). He argues that the evidence of the manuscripts as a group points to the Salisbury region as the 'indisputable' place of production (p. 56).

books and the absence of *fleuronnée* in the later manuscripts produced by the William of Devon group provide a compelling contrast as the century proceeds, with the replacement of *fleuronnée* and line endings as the prominent feature of *mise-en-page* by strongly defined semi-bar borders populated with drolleries and grotesques. The Book of Hours attributed to the William of Devon group contains elements of both the earlier penflourished style found in the work of de Brailes as well as evidence of the progression of French marginal style so strongly evident in the William of Devon group.

For the Sarum Master and the William of Devon groups, I have followed the corpus as defined by Morgan in *EGM* 2.³⁰⁵ I will examine the flourishing style in London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 434 (Apocalypse) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 764, (Bestiary) as precedents to the Sarum Master's attributed works. For the Sarum Master group specifically I will describe: London, the Royal College of Physicians, MS 409 (the Wilton Psalter); London, British Library, Royal MS 1. B. xii (Bible of William of Hales); Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Lat. 24, (Missal of Henry of Chichester); and Oxford, All Souls College, MS 6, (the Amesbury Psalter).

For the William of Devon group I will examine London, BL, Royal MS 1. D. i (The Bible of William of Devon); London, British Library, Egerton MS 1151 (Book of Hours); Blackburn, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS 091.21001 (the Blackburn Psalter); London, BL, Royal MS 1 E. ii (the Lumley Bible); Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 116 (2.I.6) (Bible); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 1. 7 (Bible); Oxford, Corpus Christi, MS 1 (Bible); and New York, Pierpont Morgan,

³⁰⁵ See n. 1 of this chapter.

MS M. 756 (the Cuerden Psalter).

Both groups are composed exclusively of liturgical texts, indicating a strong market for elaborate Bibles, Psalters and Books of Hours among the patrons of the books. These groups show less diversity in the quality of their products than the de Brailes group, perhaps indicating that de Brailes collaborated with a wider range of artisans than the Sarum Master and the William of Devon groups. For the Sarum Master, this may have to do with location. The thriving book-producing community of thirteenth-century Oxford would perhaps have offered more avenues for collaboration than the smaller book-producing community of medieval Salisbury. The strong Parisian influence in the William of Devon group may indicate that this group was more isolated in terms of collaboration than the de Brailes group. It has been suggested that the William of Devon group was composed of either French artists or English artists trained in Paris.³⁰⁶ It may be that they worked more as an isolated unit than the varied collaborations evident in the de Brailes corpus. What all three groups display however is a strong central interest in elaborate liturgical books. Chronicles, romances, herbals and other texts of specifically secular interest do not feature in the repertoire of these groups.

The Sarum Master Group

The surviving manuscripts from the Sarum Master group are composed of liturgical examples including two Psalters, a Bible and a Missal. The William of Devon group is composed of a similar repertoire including five Bibles, two Psalters, and a Book of Hours. The Sarum Master's work intersects the work of de Brailes for

³⁰⁶ See NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 159-62.

perhaps a decade. Morgan makes the point that the figure style of the Sarum Master may have been a deliberate revival of the Westminster style *c.* 1200 as seen in the Westminster Psalter.³⁰⁷ This may also have influenced the choice of conventional penflourished accoutrement. The mise-en-page for the Sarum Master manuscripts shows limited use of the penwork innovations that come to dominate English decorative technique in the thirteenth century. The two Psalters demonstrate the most elaborate penwork, although puzzle initials are absent, as is the evidence of Italian decorative influence.

The use of flourishing in the manuscripts associated with the Sarum Master is very much dependent on the type of text which is being produced. The first manuscripts that will be examined are those identified by Morgan as stylistic precedents to the Sarum Master's work. Morgan suggests that the Sarum Master may have trained with the artists that produced them.³⁰⁸ These books, an Apocalypse and a Bestiary, show the least amount of flourishing in the group. Lambeth Palace MS 434 is an Apocalypse perhaps produced in Old Sarum or Winchester (?) *c.* 1250.³⁰⁹ While Morgan does not argue that the Sarum Master's hand is present in this production, the static, monumental figure style, with large eyes and pursed mouths, along with drapery folds heavily outlined in black, look forward to the Sarum Master's style as well as backwards to the work of the Westminster Psalter artists of some fifty years before. The genre of this book too attests to the popularity for Apocalypses in England from the beginning decades of the thirteenth century through to the

^{307.} See Chapter 2, p. 48-65.

^{308.} NJM, *EGM* 2, p. 53.

^{309.} For London, Lambeth Palace, MS 434, see NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 52-53. Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (London: Penguin, 1965), p. 113, Peter Brieger, *English Art: 1216-1307*, Oxford History of English Art, 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 170.

1280's.³¹⁰

Since the figure style of this Apocalypse is retrospective, it is not surprising to find that the penwork decoration also belongs to the beginning of the century. There is no *fleuronnée* penwork to accompany the text in French. It is the illustration, as opposed to the text that is most important in this book. There is only one decorated capital in the book that occurs on f.1r., the first opening of the volume. On f. 1r., there is a singular decorated capital that is in a late-twelfth or early thirteenth-century style. It is a pink pigment letter 'S' (*Seint Johan*) on a gold ground, with acanthus vine in blue and orange filling the centre of the letter (Figure 4.5).



Figure 4.5: London, Lambeth Palace, MS 434, f. 1r.

³¹⁰ See Nigel Morgan, entry 9 for 'The Lambeth Apocalypse, MS 209', *Lambeth Palace Library: Treasures from the Collection of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, ed. by Richard Palmer and Michelle P. Brown (Scala: London, 2010), pp. 48-51. Morgan suggests that the circulation of prophecies interpreting Emperor Frederick II as the Anti-Christ, and the Tartar invasion of Eastern Europe in 1241 as analogous to the Biblical tribes of Gog and Magog fuelled the popularity of the Apocalypse text in its various forms. See also Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), and a complete facsimile, *The Lambeth Apocalypse*, ed. by Nigel Morgan (London: Harvey Miller, 1990).

This ground extends below the letter as well as to the right of the folio, stopping two-thirds of the way across. The gold ground of the letter with the extended vine described above sits on a dull-blue pigment field. At the far right hand end of the letter a black wavy line extends providing a base for the figure of an archer who faces the left hand side of the folio where a white bird perches on the outline of the gold ground for the capital. This figure appears to have been applied by a different hand from that which supplied the major illuminations of the Apocalypse. Even though both the figure style and the decorative programme are retrospective, it is unlikely that the same hand applied both the decorated initial and the illustrations of the Apocalypse. Pigment as opposed to penwash is used for both the capital and the archer and his intended prey. This figure, while not as elegantly drawn as the figures in the main illustrative rectangular block, shows movement and a naturalistic pose as the archer crouches down to aim at his target.

Penwork line endings are present in abstract patterns. Guide letters have been used to direct the hand that supplies the first capital in each caption. These are always in blue ink. The abstract line endings that are present in the Apocalypse are ubiquitous to the first half of the thirteenth century in England in terms of both placement and design. They appear in the luxury productions of the de Brailles corpus which feature exuberant penwork style including the New College and Stockholm Psalters and the Book of Hours. The line endings are an early type of decoration that continues to be present in a variety of types of books throughout the thirteenth century, although there is evidence that they begin to disappear from luxury work at the end of the century, and were perhaps perceived as old-fashioned. Line endings are not used in the most luxurious product of the William of Devon Group, the Cuerden Psalter *c.* 1280. *Fleuronné* does not appear in Lambeth Palace MS 434,

although *fleuronnée* as well as filigree puzzle initials are present in other Apocalypses of the mid-thirteenth century. Both the Lambeth Apocalypse (London, Lambeth Palace, MS 209, London (?) c. 1260-70)³¹¹ and the Tanner Apocalypse (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 184, London (?) c. 1250)³¹² feature *fleuronnée* work as a strong element of *mise-en-page*. Both Apocalypses feature *fleuronnée* that accompanies opening and subsequent minor initials for the text (Figure 4.6 and 4.7).



Figure 4.6: London, Lambeth Palace, MS 209, ff. 7r-8v.

The strongly vertical flourishing in the Lambeth Apocalypse is reminiscent of the examples proposed by Stirnemann for Parisian *fleuronnée* of the 1250s, which she associates with Italian influence. It seems most likely that this book, possibly produced in London, may show more direct influence of Parisian flourishing than Italian.

³¹¹ For the Lambeth Apocalypse see NJM, *EGM*, 2, pp. 101-06 and entry 9, 'The Lambeth Apocalypse, MS 209', *Lambeth Palace Library: Treasures from the Collection of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, ed. Richard Palmer and Michelle P. Brown (Scala: London, 2010), pp. 48-51. See also the complete facsimile, *The Lambeth Apocalypse*, ed. N. J. Morgan (London: Harvey Miller, 1990).

³¹² For the Tanner Apocalypse see NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 69-70.

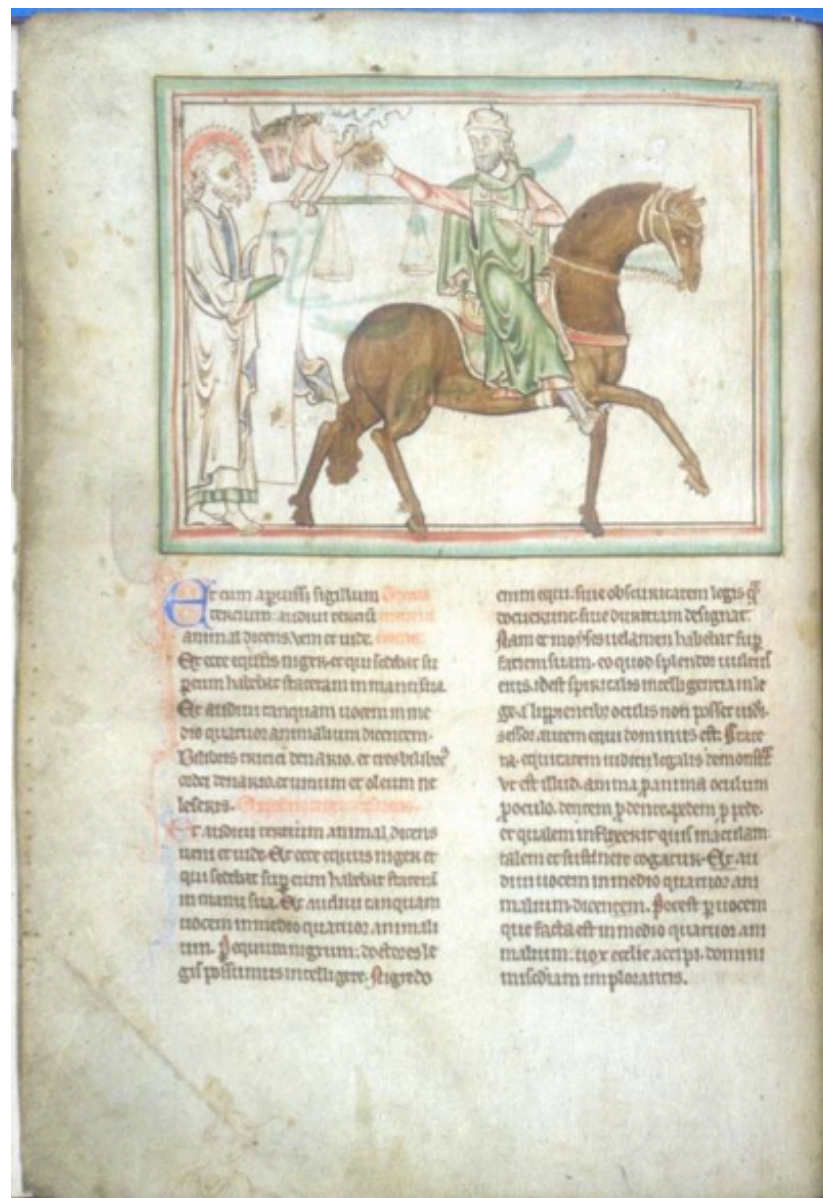


Figure 4.7: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 184, f. 10r.

In both the Lambeth and Tanner Apocalypses, the *fleuronnée* penwork is delicate and complex as well as minute in form. Also in both manuscripts, the penwork sometimes extends across the *bas de page*, closely following the text block.

The slightly later Abingdon Apocalypse (c. 1270-5) features more Italianate flourishing style, with flourished extensions across the *bas de page*. These flourishes often intersect one another (Figure 4.8).



Figure 4.8: London, BL, Add. MS 42555, f. 18r.

This is another Bolognese design that can be found from the late twelfth century. The example below shows a highly developed Italian example of this technique from the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Figure 4.9).

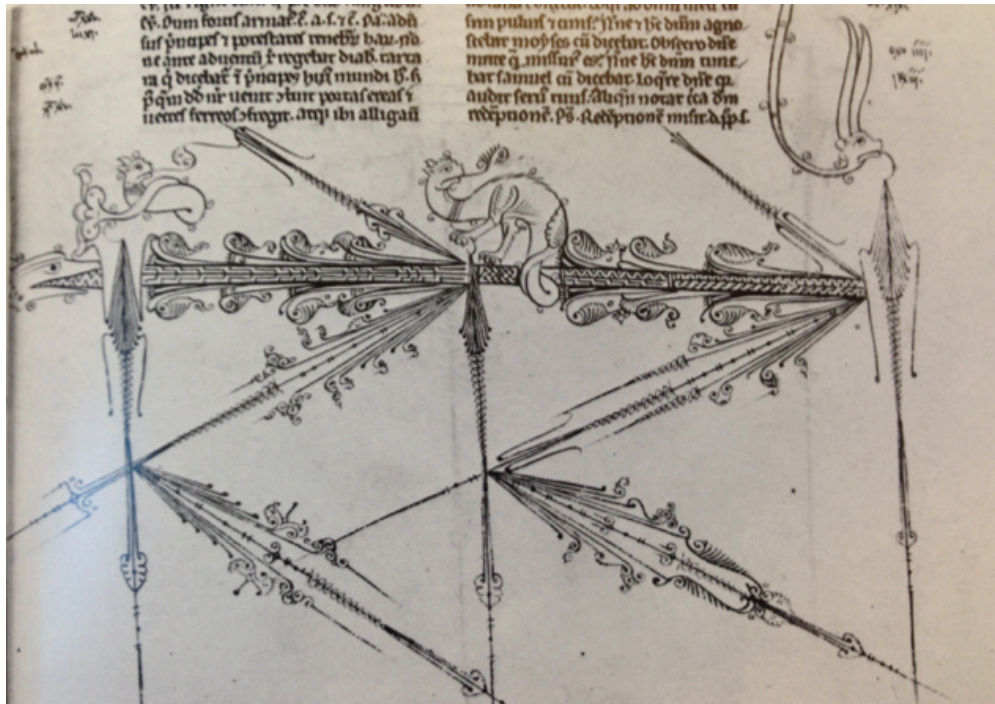


Figure 4.9: Paris, BNF, Lat. 16894, f. 1r. (*Petrus de Capra, Alphabetum in artem concionandi*), Bologna, second quarter of thirteenth century)

The flourisher of the Abingdon Apocalypse also places animals on some of the diagonally placed pen extensions, although the exact replication of Bolognese forms is not present. The placement of grotesques or more naturalistic forms on the lines provided by *bas de page* Bolognese designs is an important component of the development of marginal art as the thirteenth century proceeds. In the example below, the bisecting diagonal line has been transformed into a strip of turf where a hound chases a hare (Figure 4.10).



Figure 4.10: London, BL, Add. MS 42555, f. 38r.

By the date of the Abingdon Apocalypse *c.* 1270, the Bolognese forms that de Brailes had employed as early as the 1240s were adopted and adapted by those who supplied the decorative embellishment to luxury books in England.

The Bodleian Library's MS Bodley 764, the well-known Bestiary (*c.* 1225-50), is also cited by Morgan as a stylistic predecessor to the works of the Sarum Master.³¹³ The dramatically presented animals in the book, with their carefully recorded detail, sometimes drawn from observation of natural examples as well as from both literary exempla and fancy, with their features heavily outlined in black, all testify to either the presence of the Sarum Master himself or perhaps the painter who trained the Master. The role of flourishing in this text, however, is again

³¹³ Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 764.

restrained. Like the Apocalypse, the pictorial content is the most important aspect of this book. The books that follow next in this analysis, the Wilton Psalter and the Amesbury Psalter, apply far greater attention to decorative penwork embellishment.



Figure 4.11: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 764, f. 10r.

The capitals that begin each new section of MS Bodley 764 are flourished in filigree style (Figure 4.11). They appear alternately in either blue letters with red filigree inside and around the capital or in red with blue filigree behind. The flourishing clings to the decorated initial and to the text block below it. Flourishing does not appear above the illustration or below the text block in the *bas de page*. The first capital in MS Bodley 764 is the flourished ‘O’ on f. 1r that begins the section that describes how Adam named the animals (*Omnibus animantibus adam...*). The largest initial in the volume is the flourished ‘B’ that begins the section on wild beasts on f. 3r. (*Bestiarum vocabulum proprie convenit...*). While the filigree initial that accompanies the first letter of each section is competently done, it is not the dominant design element of the folio. The illustration of the animal or bird described takes precedence. De Hamel suggests that the high quality of the components of this Bestiary including fine parchment, elegant script and illustrations all indicate that this was either an aristocratic or a royal commission.³¹⁴ The level of luxury implied by the volume does not here necessitate the presence of prolific flourishing, but may explain the carefully executed initials that contribute to the overall effect (Figure 4.12). The restrained use of flourishing in the *mise-en-page* of the Bestiary and the Apocalypse associated with the developing style of the Sarum Master indicates that either Bolognese *bas de page* design had not yet reached the circle of the artists who created these texts, or that the Italian aesthetic for manuscript design was not considered appropriate for this type of text. It was most often associated with legal texts in the first decades of the thirteenth century, as demonstrated in Chapter 2.

³¹⁴ See de Hamel, pp. 28-29.



Figure 4.12: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 764, ff. 13v.-14r.

The Wilton Psalter (c. 1250), which Morgan suggests is the first firm evidence for the hand of the Sarum Master, shows the important emergence of penwork for deluxe commissions of Psalters in the Sarum Master group.³¹⁵ It is unclear whether this Psalter was commissioned for one of the religious houses in or near Salisbury, or for an aristocratic patron, perhaps associated with the household of Edward III at Clarendon just outside Salisbury.³¹⁶ There are intriguing portrayals of both nuns and Franciscans in the historiated initials throughout the Psalter. Franciscans are depicted both in the act of preaching and reading, as well as being tempted by the charms of the opposite sex as prompted by the devil (Figure 4.13).

³¹⁵ See NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 55-57.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*



Figure 4.13: London, Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 72r.

The Wilton Psalter provides an important bridge to earlier Parisian decorative style for deluxe books, as well as a link to earlier English decorative style. The use of penflourishing to frame the text, a central element of *mise-en-page* for the Wilton Psalter, is evident in luxury Parisian Psalters of a few decades earlier. The early examples of this type of penflourished decoration were discussed in Chapter 2, with reference to the Lewis and Jeanne de Navarre Psalters. In these early examples, Italian style is much more clearly copied, and used to suggest a frame for the text on some folios. In the case of the Wilton Psalter, the concept of the penwork frame for the text is recognized, but the Italian technique is not exactly replicated. The idea for a penflourished border is in evidence, but the suggestion of a border is created using

the techniques of the filigree initial and *fleuronnée* that clings to the letter (Figure 4.14).

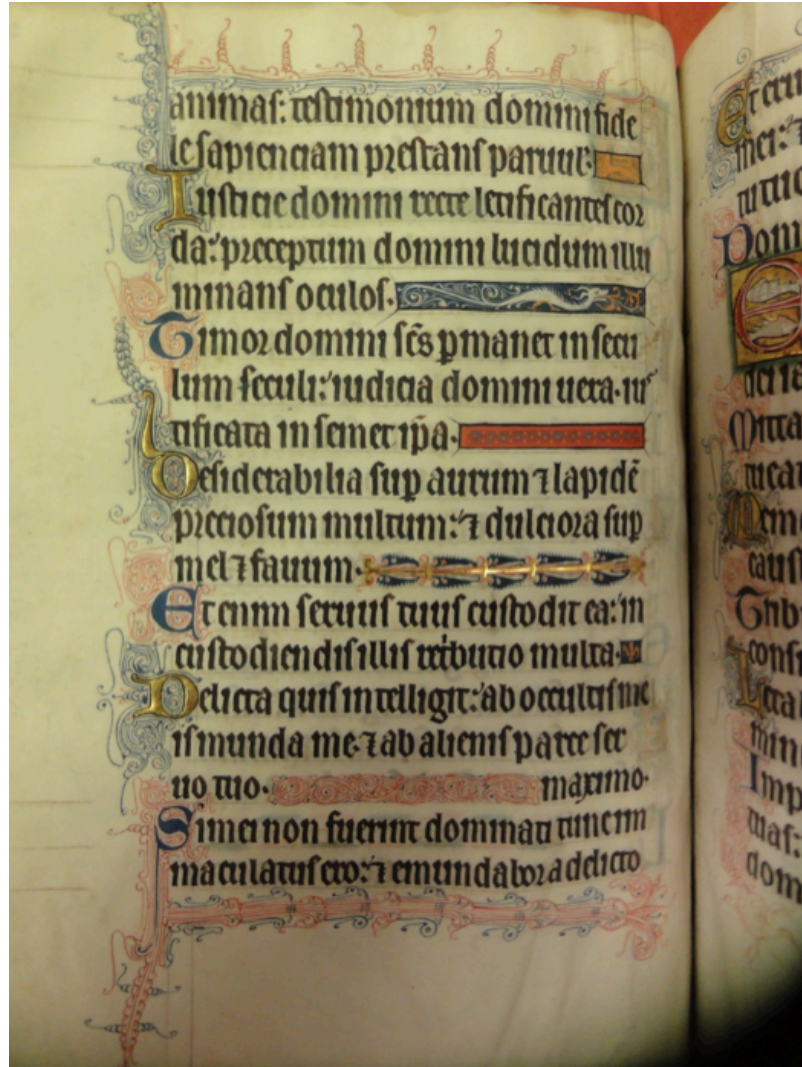


Figure 4.14: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 24v.

The extensive use of line fillers done largely in pigment is a design element that links this Psalter to earlier English examples such as the Huntingfield Psalter, made in Oxford c. 1220. The Huntingfield Psalter has been identified as a possible training source for de Brailles with regard to figure style.³¹⁷ It carries no penwork flourishing at all, but many historiated initials, and striking line fillers (Figure 4.15).

³¹⁷ See NJM, *EGM I*, pp. 77-79.

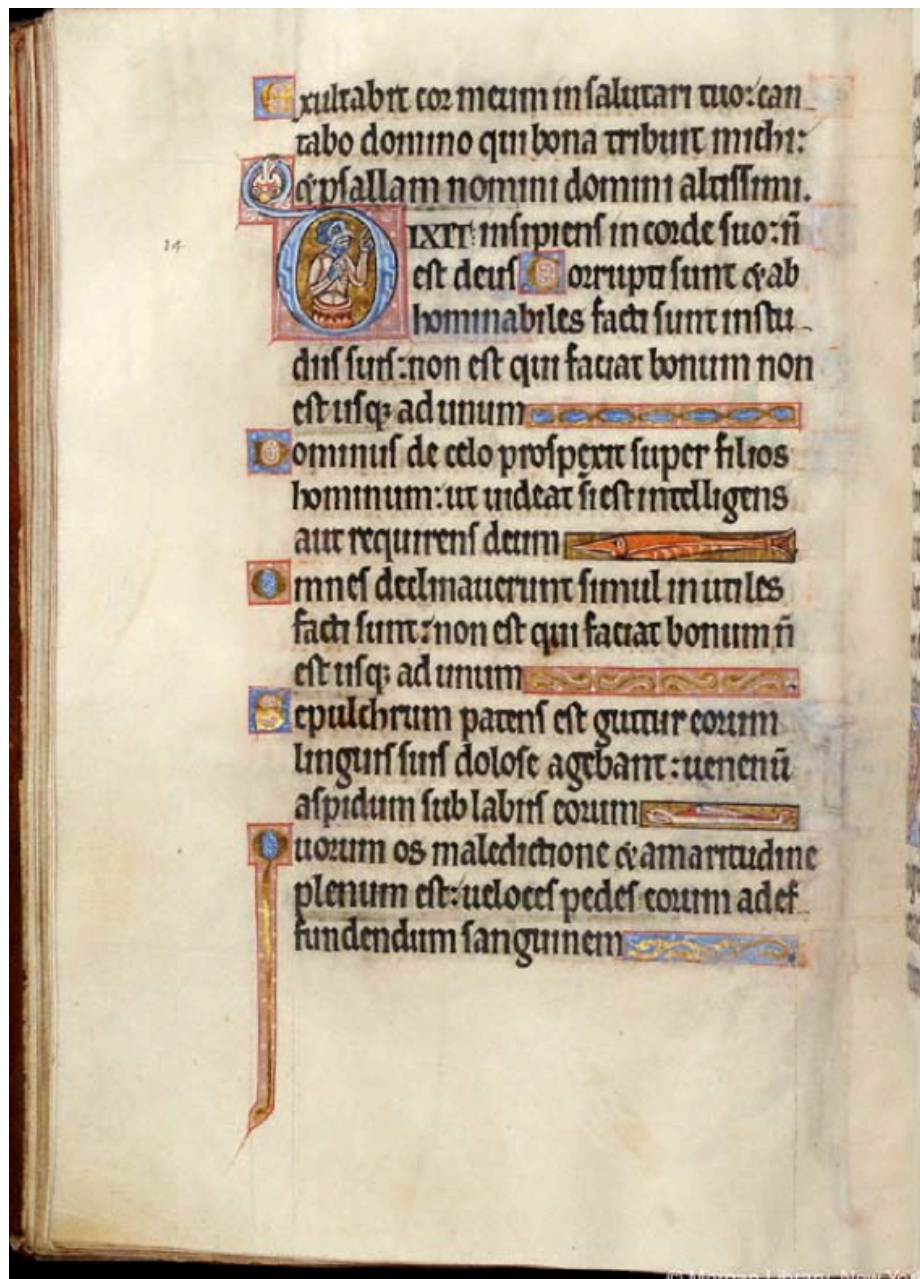


Figure 4.15: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 43, f. 38v.

Line fillers like those in the Wilton Psalter are used by de Brailes in his most deluxe productions. There is a wide variety of types of line fillers in the Wilton Psalter including figurative and abstract designs that are executed in both pigment and pen. What is absent from the complex decorative programme is the use of *prolongations à l'italienne*, so significant a feature of the Psalters and the Book of Hours produced by

de Brailes and his circle. Grotesques with adjacent penflourished designs do occur in the context of the line fillers, but this seems more of a meeting of Romanesque design with Parisian style than experimentation with a new form (Figure 4.16).



Figure 4.16: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 12r.

Every aspect of this volume has been prepared to the highest standard of thirteenth-century book production. The parchment is thick yet soft and the folios turn easily. The figures and animals that appear in the historiated initials are exceptionally fine. The historiated initials contain a field of gold that is sometimes punched with fine decorative indentations. There are similarities in the attention to detail shown in the drawings in the Wilton Psalter with those found in the Bestiary such as the historiated initial showing a bird of prey attacking a lamb for the opening of Psalm 4 (*cum invocarem exaudivit me Deus iustitiae meae*) (Figure 4.17).



Figure 4.17: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 8r. (detail).

The script is *gothic textura prescisus vel sine pedibus*, the highest grade of early Gothic script. The calendar for the Wilton Psalter carries filigree initials that begin each line of every month. The capitals alternate in gold and blue with infills in the opposite colour. The restrained quality of the flourishing continues when the text begins with Psalm 1. The capitals for each verse continue to alternate in blue and gold but red is introduced for the background of the blue letters and blue continues for the gold. The effect is a vibrant field of visual signs (Figure 4.18).



Figure 4.18: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 14v.

Psalm 1 opens with very delicate compressed *fleuronnée* work that surrounds the opening capital for each chapter. The line endings on this folio are of a delicate tone (Figure 4.19). They are both figurative, such as the extended hand in line 5, and the fish that follows, as well as grotesques such as the elongated man with a cap further down the folio, as well as abstract designs.

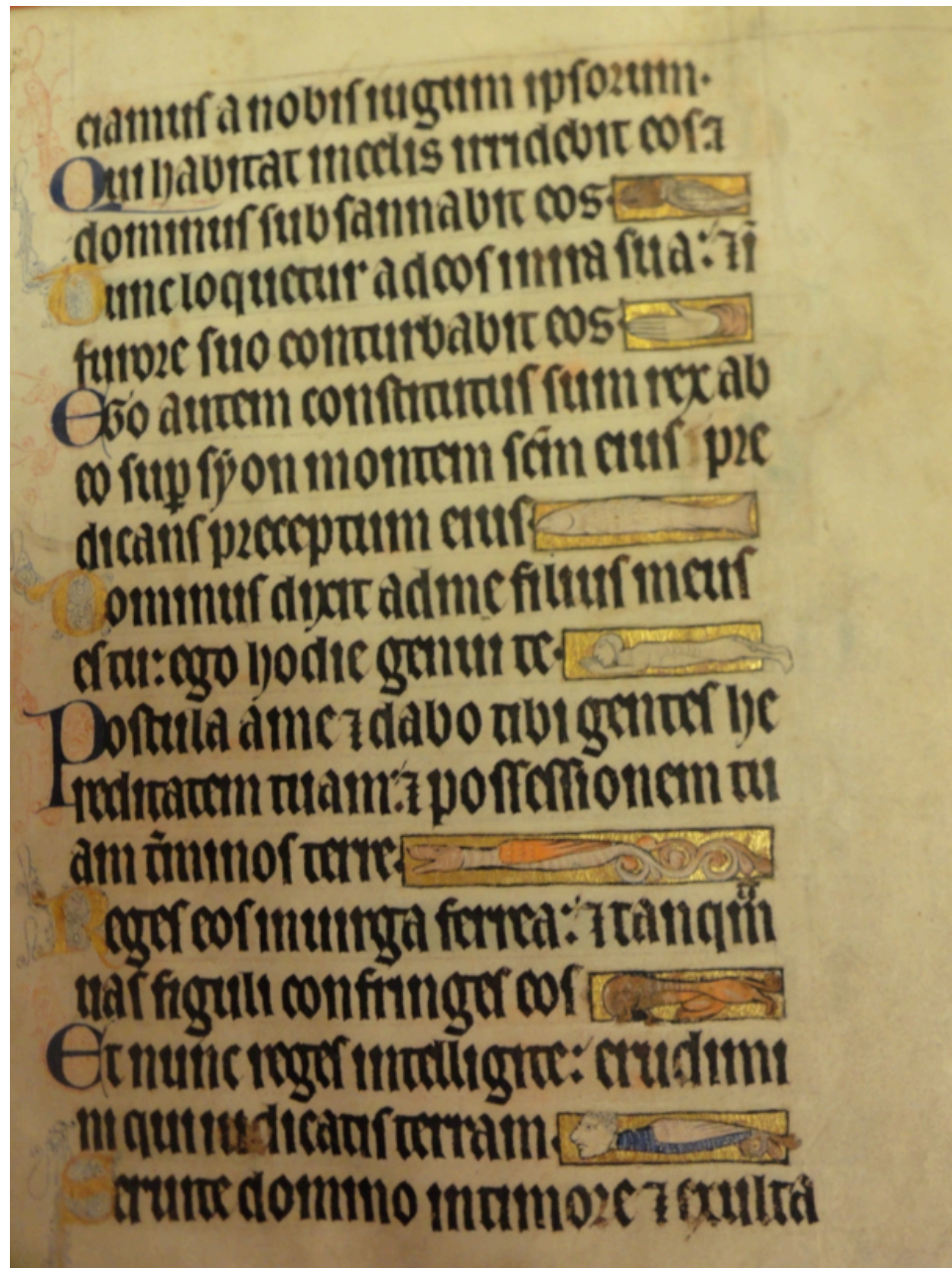


Figure 4.19: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 7r.

The verso side of this folio carries flourishing in a heavier hand. This flourishing is much less constricted although it still adheres to the letters in *fleuronnée* style. The style of line fillers on this second folio is also markedly different, in bright colours with infills of geometric designs (Figure 4.20).

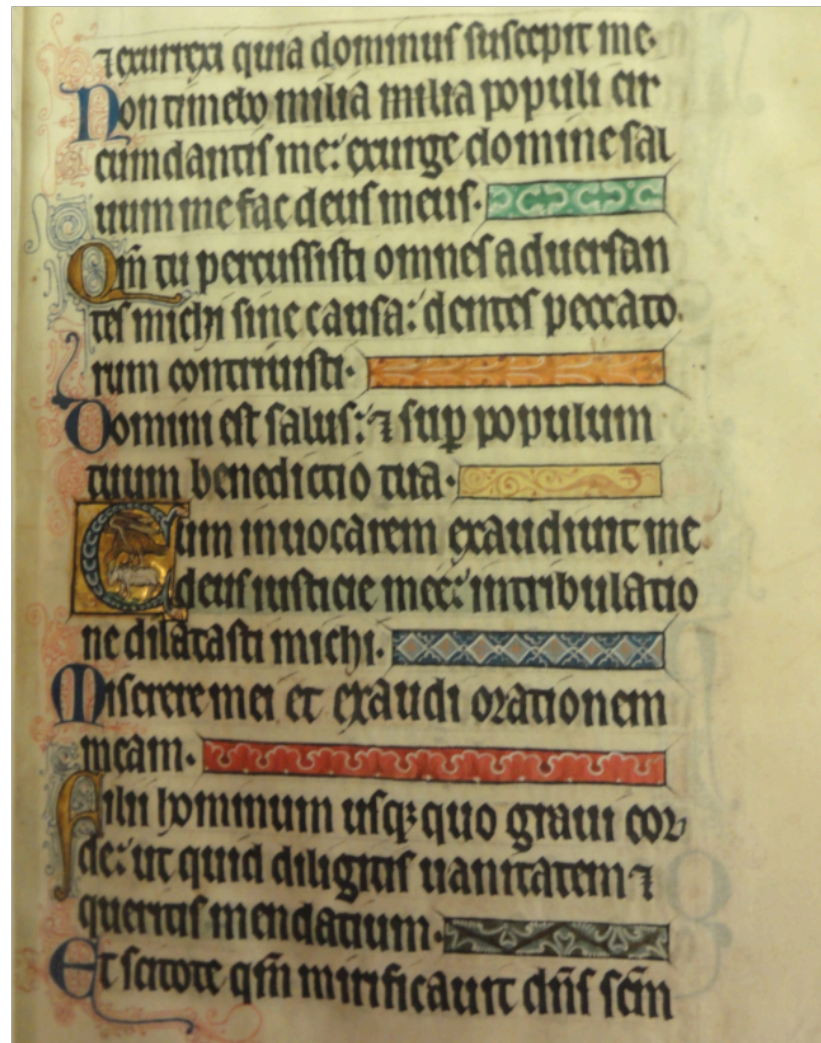


Figure 4.20: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 8r.

This is a design element that is evident also in earlier English work such as the Huntingfield Psalter. There is a third flourishing hand that appears later in the Wilton Psalter, on folios 157v. and 158r. This hand is freer still with regard to the area used for flourishing. However this flourishing is still in the *fleuronnée* style, with cautious incursions into the margins. The line fillers used by this flourisher are different again in both style and colour choice. The line endings on the folios decorated by this flourisher are executed in filigree. Whereas penflourished line-endings are used occasionally by the second flourisher, the third flourisher uses them exclusively (Figure 4.21).

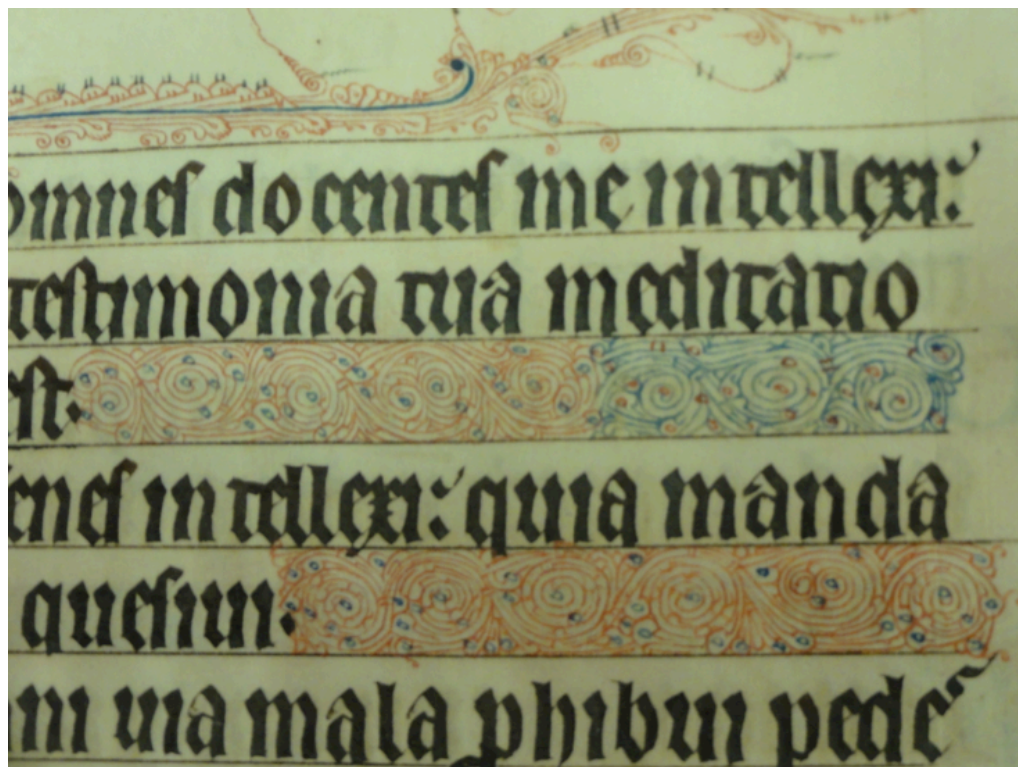


Figure 4.21: London, The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409, f. 158r.

The colour of these line-endings is also different from those in the rest of the book. They are soft in hue although not pastel. Since the line-endings are drawn differently each time a new flourisher appears in the Wilton Psalter, it seems reasonable to suggest that the hand which applies the flourishing is also the hand which supplies the line-endings. The script is relatively large, certainly for ease of reading. The luxurious use of many leaves of parchment allows plenty of space for decorative technique. The Wilton Psalter demonstrates the work of at least three flourishing hands. One of these hands, Hand 3, is more influenced by current trends in decorative technique than the others. The style of the historiated initials gives a strong sense of deliberate design which also seems to reveal a contemporary narrative that is not completely retrievable by later readers, with regard to the Franciscans and the temptations of the flesh, and the bitter regret displayed by those

succumbing to temptation, within the realm of the historiated initial. The decorating hands are divergent in style, with both Romanesque and later thirteenth-century continental technique in evidence. This may indicate that the line fillers, *fleuronnée* and filigree work was applied as and when, according to the availability of the flourishers, or that the decorative aspects of the Psalter were applied later, and that Hand 3 may be the last hand to add his work explaining his more progressive decorative repertoire. The difference in the hands indicates that the concept of *mise-en-page* for this Psalter was much less broadly conceptual than that of the Psalters in the de Brailes group, perhaps indicating less involvement by the Sarum Master in this aspect of the work.

Although both exact dating and identification of the patron of the Amesbury Psalter are not certain,³¹⁸ the style of the penflourishing used in the manuscript suggests distinctive differences from that of the Wilton Psalter.³¹⁹ Morgan argues that the assumption that the nuns of Amesbury Abbey were the patrons of this Psalter is uncertain because of the lack of an Amesbury calendar.³²⁰ The calendar in the Amesbury Psalter is that of Sarum, with what Morgan argues are adaptations for use by the nuns of Amesbury. Morgan dates the Amesbury Psalter to c. 1250, probably after the Wilton Psalter, which may have been produced as early as 1245, and before the Bible of William of Hales in 1254. The style of the penflourishing in the Amesbury Psalter certainly indicates that it follows the Wilton Psalter. The flourishing that appears in the Amesbury Psalter is of the *fleuronnée* type, with

³¹⁸. For the Amesbury Psalter, I have relied on a CD kindly supplied by Gaye Morgan of the Codrington Library at All Soul's College, Oxford. The fragile condition of the gold leaf in the Amesbury Psalter makes it unwise for the leaves of the book to be turned. The CD has been more than adequate for my purposes.

³¹⁹. See NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 59-61.

³²⁰. *Ibid.*

horizontal extensions only. While line fillers still appear, they play a much more subdued role in *mise-en-page*. The line fillers are largely of red or blue ink and represent abstract, geometric patterns. The flourishing campaign is consistent for the entire book, with penflourishing of the *fleuronné* type, with consistent horizontal extensions into the side margins of the folio as the consistent theme for the decorative programme for the book. The calendar for the Amesbury Psalter is written in red and blue ink, with *fleuronné* applied between some capitals for the beginning of each new line, which are marked with filigree initials. In contrast to the highly illustrated calendar for the Wilton Psalter, both the Labours of the Month and the signs of the Zodiac are dispensed with in the Amesbury Psalter (Figure 4.22)

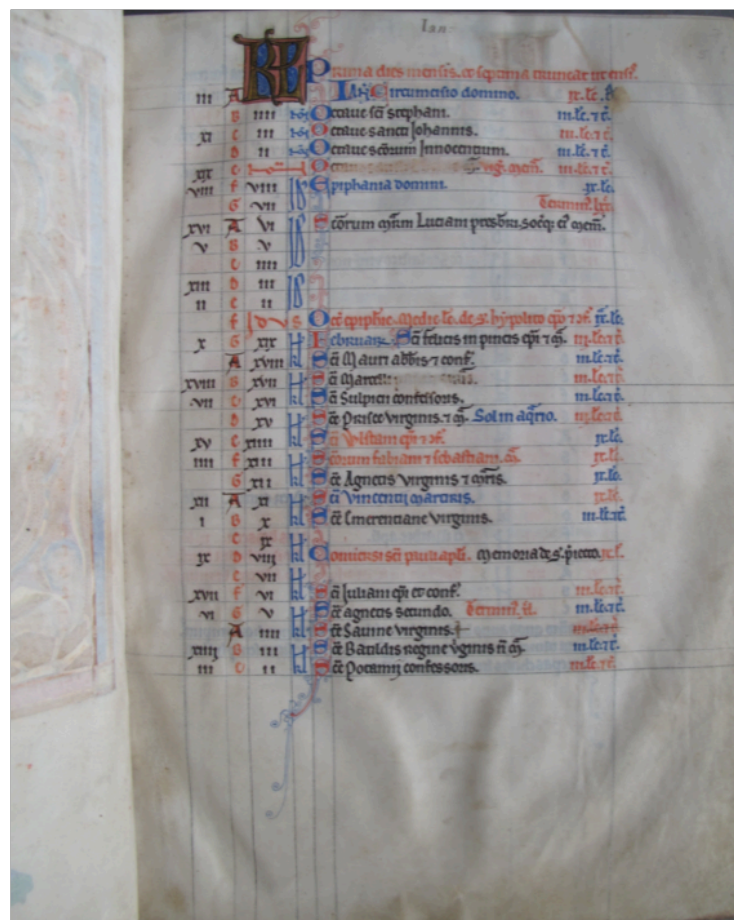


Figure 4.22: Oxford, Codrington Library, All Souls College, MS 6, f. 5r.

This background role for flourishing continues when the text of the Psalter begins. The alternation in red and blue capitals for the beginning of each verse is consistent, with flourishing in the opposite colour both providing filigree infill for the letter as well as horizontal extensions usually composed of one or two curving lines, into the left or right hand margins of the folio (Figure 4.23).

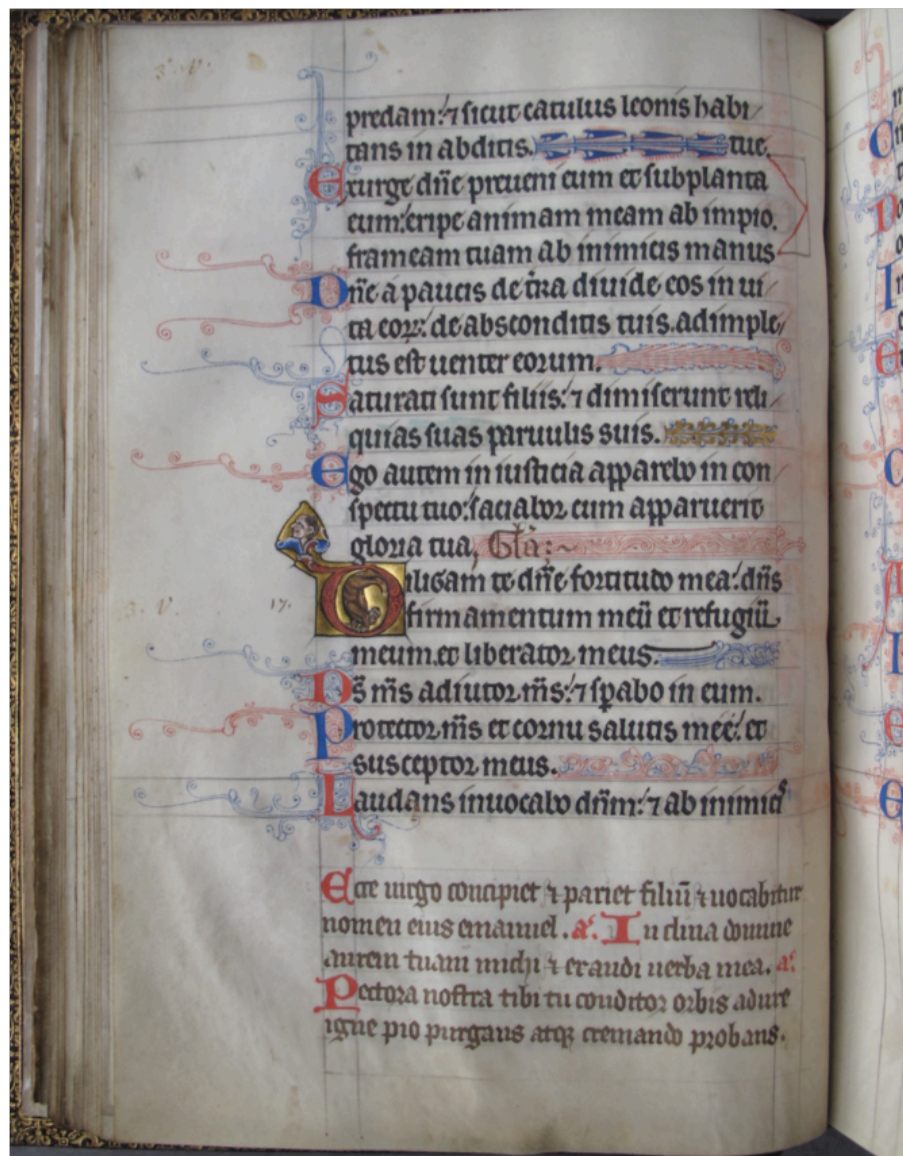


Figure 4.23: Oxford, Codrington Library, All Souls College, MS 6, f. 23v.

In contrast to the Wilton Psalter, the line fillers are much less prominent in the appearance of the folio. Instead of the application of figurative line fillers in

colours that contrast sharply with the blue, red and gold of the *fleuronnée* surrounding the opening capitals of each verse, the line fillers in the Amesbury Psalter maintain colour consistency with the red and blue capitals of the Psalm verses. Gold is occasionally used to execute line filler but this is a rare occurrence in this book. Although the flourishing is an essential element of the *mise-en-page* in this Psalter, it is at once more consistent and less conspicuous than in the Wilton Psalter. It is consistently executed in pen as opposed to pigment, and the line fillers are consistently abstract designs deriving from the vocabulary of the filigree initial. The Amesbury Psalter contains perhaps the most sophisticated painting technique in the corpus of the Sarum Master (Figure 4.24). The decorative campaign is consistent, and delicate, demonstrating an overseeing-mind at work on the design of the book. Both the Wilton and Amesbury Psalters were possibly designed for use in religious communities, but made outside the context of those communities. In the Wilton Psalter, the role of the flourishing is not consistently defined, but in the Amesbury Psalter it seems an intimate part of the *mise-en-page* of the book. In neither case does the flourishing demonstrate the use of Italianate technique.



Figure 4.24: Oxford, Codrington Library, All Souls College, MS 6, f. 1r.

Dateable precisely through the colophon of 1254, the Bible of William of Hales maintains the conservative use of flourishing evident in the previous examples. The flourishing in the Bible of William of Hales is in keeping with not only the style of the Sarum Master group, but here especially with the genre of the commission. This large format Bible (308 x 197mm) contains only thirty-five historiated initials.³²¹ The flourishing that accompanies the text consists of blue Lombards backed with red filigree, thinly surrounded with red *fleuronné* (Figure 4.25).

³²¹ See NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 61-63 for discussion of the historiated initials. Morgan finds that only a small group of these can be attributed to the Sarum Master.



Figure 4.25: London, BL, MS Royal 1 B. xii, f. 34 r. (The Bible of William of Hales)

The extensions from the *fleuronnée* attached to the beginnings of the verses can extend up to fifteen lines below the capital and when the capital falls toward the end of the text block, the *fleuronnée* extension can descend into the *bas de page*. Both the flourishing hand and the scribal hand look consistent for the entire book, with the exception of extensive flourishing on folios 289v and 299r. Also present here, but nowhere else in the Bible, are puzzle initials. They are surrounded by delicate but generous *fleuronnée*. This hand does not reappear in the rest of the volume. Neither the Psalms nor the Index of Hebrew Names differs from the rest of the Bible with

regard to the amount or style of flourishing present. More extensive flourishing to these sections is most often the pattern for the Bibles of the William de Brailes and William of Devon groups. In the Bible of William of Hales, the flourishing campaign continues consistently. The light blue used for the capitals is alternated with red throughout the book (Figure 4.26).³²²



Figure 4.26: London, BL, MS Royal 1 B. xii, f. 193v.

The most striking aspect of the flourishing used in the Bible of William of Hales is

³²² The pigment used for the Lombards in the Bible of William of Hales is most likely to be derived from woad, as opposed to lapis lazuli. Stirnemann notes that woad was a cheaper vegetal alternative to paints derived from mineral sources such as azurite or lapis lazuli. Stirnemann finds that woad is often used in Parisian university books of the thirteenth century. See Stirnemann (1990), p. 59.

its absence on many folios (Figure 4.27). There are no marginal inscriptions in the book. Its large size and its small amount of illustrative content suggest that the Bible was intended for public reading as opposed to private study. While the Bible of William of Hales is certainly a high status commission, it is also evidently a practical one. The absence of exuberant flourishing may indicate patronal preference but perhaps also generic suitability. A Bible intended for public use as opposed to private contemplation could do without the application of flourishing that could be seen to enhance the personal, devotional experience of the reader.



Figure 4.27: London, BL, MS Royal 1 B xii, f. 84v.

The Missal of Henry of Chichester is the first Missal to contain the Use of Sarum. It shares the same flourishing character as the Bible of William of Hales. Morgan notes that the Missal, produced c. 1250 in Salisbury, contains ‘twelve

historiated initials for the Temporal and Canon Prayer, and eight full-page miniatures preceding the Canon'.³²³ While Morgan notes that there are many unusual inclusions in the Missal with regard to the iconography and the location and subject of prefatory miniatures, the scheme of the flourishing is very conservative.³²⁴ Similar to the calendar for the Amesbury Psalter where flourishing occurs rarely, the calendar for the Missal of Henry of Chichester is completely unflourished. It is written in red, blue and black ink. The Labours of the Months and the signs of the zodiac do not appear. The complex layout of this book is evident in the presence of guide letters throughout the text, with guide letters also appearing in the far margins for the large capitals in the text. These have most often been trimmed away. The plainsong notation is written in black on red staves. The opening capitals for each section of the text are marked in alternating red and blue with the opposite colour used for simple infill of the letters. Like the Bible of William of Hales, the flourishing that extends from the *fleuronnée* around the capitals is simple in style. It is often formed of a single stroke composed of open loops. There is no flourishing above the text block and no running titles appear there. While this book is innovative with regard to text, the flourishing is very much a conservative and secondary element to its *mise-en-page*.

The application of penflourished embellishment to the manuscripts of the Sarum Master group does not reveal a consistent pattern with regard to the type of flourishing employed for the books in the group. Flourishing is a minor element in the *mise-en-page* of the Apocalypse and the Bestiary that Morgan identifies as stylistic predecessors to the Sarum Master corpus. The Bible of William of Hales and

³²³ NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 57-59.

³²⁴ *Ibid.* Morgan notes that the Missal of Henry of Chichester is the only surviving thirteenth-century Missal to include a miniature of the Crucifixion before the Canon (p. 58).

the Missal of Henry of Chichester similarly show restrained use of fleuronée work, while the two Psalters, the Wilton and the Amesbury, show contrasting application of *fleuronnée* and filigree work, with the suggestion of Parisian influence for the filigree style of penflourished work that clings to the text block. The varied use of penwork flourishing in the manuscripts of the Sarum Master group implies that flourishing was perceived as a desirable decorative element, but not as a consistently conceived part of a house style. The inconsistent application of flourishing may imply that there was no overarching concept for the look of the books, and that the idea of a house style associated with a single producer is not applicable to this group of manuscripts outside the realm of the painterly contribution of the Sarum Master himself.

The William of Devon Group

Whereas the de Brailes group adopts a variety of decorative styles from both regional and continental sources, the William of Devon group imports a Parisian style and sustains it with very little evidence of regional influence. The artists associated with the group, perhaps English in origin, may have trained or worked in Paris, returning later to work perhaps in Oxford, or they may have been a group of French artisans who migrated to Oxford in the middle of the thirteenth century.³²⁵ Bennett has suggested that the iconography for the Bibles in this group derives almost exclusively from Parisian sources³²⁶ and Branner has convincingly argued that this group of artists derives from the Parisian 'Johannes Grusch' atelier.³²⁷ Not only is the iconography used by this group of painters different from that found in books

³²⁵. See NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 153-54.

³²⁶. See Bennett (1972), pp. 31-34.

³²⁷. See Robert Branner, 'The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental origins of the William of Devon Painter', *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), pp. 24-30.

produced by English contemporaries, but also the use of minute drolleries and grotesques in conjunction with semi-bar borders distinguishes the work of this group from contemporaneous Oxford productions. Although different hands appear throughout the William of Devon group, *mise-en-page* for the group is remarkably consistent and distinctive (Figure 4.28). The ‘look’ of the William of Devon books is much more cohesive than that of the William de Brailes group, which further emphasizes the Parisian character of the William of Devon group.



Figure 4.28: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct.D. 1. 7, f. 159r.

The sophisticated organizational structure of book production in Paris in the thirteenth century is reflected in the consistent and distinctive design of these books. Morgan suggests that a French artist may have overseen the production of the William of Devon group.³²⁸ The instantly recognizable design of a William of Devon

³²⁸ See NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 152-54, (p. 153)

incipit folio belies not only Parisian style but also Parisian production methodology. The variation with regard to design of books in the William de Brailes group denotes not only patron preference with regard to purpose and purse, but also perhaps a looser organization of artisans who joined forces as and when the production in question demanded. William de Brailes appears to have been able to assemble a diverse collection of scribes, painters and flourishers to meet the demands of specific productions. Books with diverse ‘looks’ could be produced by de Brailes and his associates, while the William of Devon shop, perhaps under the direction of a single artist, retained a consistent style, particularly with regard to marginal decoration. Morgan also suggests that it is rare for artists of one production group to work with others outside that group, particularly those employed in the same place of production for example Oxford or Paris.³²⁹ With regard to penflourishing however, this argument is not wholly convincing. For example, the penflourished *bas de page* decorations in the Stockholm Psalter are by several hands, but one of those hands may also appear in the Vienna Hours (Vienna, Museum für angewandte Kunst, Cod. Lat. XIV (S5)).³³⁰ Clare Donovan suggests that the Vienna Hours was produced in Oxford c. 1250-5 on the basis of decorative similarity and the inclusion of Saint Frideswide in the suffrages.³³¹ It is possible that the nascent profession of flourishing in the thirteenth century permitted the transmigration of these practitioners between production groups. The artists who painted the prefatory miniatures and the major initials seem to establish the stylistic character of specific production groups. Those

³²⁹ See NJM, *EGM* 2, p. 22. Morgan cites the case of a Bible, Oxford, Corpus Christi I, produced by one of the hands in the William of Devon group. This Bible also carries initials and border decoration by a member of the Glazier Bible group, working contemporaneously in Oxford.

³³⁰ See Chapter 3, footnote 90, for Vienna: Museum für angewandte Kunst, Cod. Lat. XIV.

³³¹ See Clare Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours* (London: British Library, 1991), Appendix 2, pp. 184-85.

who applied flourishing, by virtue of perhaps both the novelty of their nascent specialized skill, and the perceived level of skill of specific individuals, may have enabled them to adopt a more peripatetic approach to employment by various established production groups.

The so-called ‘Johannes Grusch’ atelier was active in Paris from the late 1230s through the 1260s.³³² Branner ascribed thirty-nine manuscripts to the atelier.³³³ The shop begins with a diverse collection of painters who could produce a wide variety of not only texts but also styles of illumination. The most significant painter of the atelier first appears, according to Branner, as a secondary artist working on the earliest representative of the shop, a missal from Rouen Cathedral, Rouen MS Y-50. Branner identifies the most characteristic traits of this painter as ‘flat little figures with inked draperies of a fairly irregular sort and white beards with small features...short-bearded chin[s] of the men and ... pursed mouth[s]’.³³⁴ The significant ornament in this Rouen missal included ‘all manner of grotesque and hybrid monsters’.³³⁵ Of the ‘descendants’ that Branner identifies as proceeding from the Rouen missal secondary painter, a Justinian codex (BNF MS Fr. 22969) with the

³³². See Robert Branner’s discussion of the Johannes Grusch atelier in *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 82-86. See also Robert Branner, ‘The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origins of the William of Devon Painter’, *The Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), 24-30. Branner christened this atelier after Johannes Grusch whom he identifies as the canon who wrote Santa Barbara, California, University of California, MS Sarnen 16 (Branner, 1977, p. 82), a Bible produced by the shop in 1267. Branner imagined the atelier of Johannes Grusch to encompass the work of ‘perhaps ten or twelve artists working over a period of thirty-five years or so...[I]t seems far-fetched to think of a greater number of painters working in one shop for a long period of time, so it seems overly subtle to envision several separate but related shops comprising one or two painters each’ (p. 86). It is the later, more ‘subtle’ arrangement that seems to apply to the community of illuminators and related book artisans in thirteenth-century Oxford. The evidence of the circle of William de Brailes suggests looser affiliations in contrast to the presence of consistent illuminating and decorating hands in the circle of William of Devon.

³³³. Branner (1977), p. 86.

³³⁴. *Ibid*, p. 83.

³³⁵. *Ibid*.

gloss of Azo, is of importance to the development of the William of Devon group.³³⁶

While the use of illustrative miniatures and historiated initials is common in Justinian codices from the late twelfth century, the use of grotesques is less so. BNF MS Fr. 22969 uses not only hybrids but also naturalistic figures such as hounds, hares and birds.³³⁷ This combination of the droll and the natural is a firm tenet of the William of Devon group. The application here is delicate in comparison to the vibrant drolleries and hunting scenes in the William of Devon examples but the lineage, as Branner might prefer to term it, is clear.

Branner identifies a crucial divergence in style between the major painter of the Rouen Missal and the painter of the minor initials of that manuscript to the middle phase of the workshop, *c.* 1250. While the major painter of the earlier phase of the workshop continues to use angular drapery folds of the earlier work, the painter of the initials begins to use tubular folds. This is the style that is also followed in the next decade by the William of Devon group. With regard to marginal decoration, the William of Devon group also follows the example of the minor initials painter, using semi-bar borders and hybrids as well as naturalistic birds and animals. Hunting scenes are a particularly popular motif.

At no point does Branner suggest that the minor initials painter is the same individual who goes on to develop the William of Devon group in England. The similarity in figure style, which Branner characterizes as ‘pat’ or ‘naïve’, the preference for tubular drapery folds and the use of semi-bar borders with grotesques alone provide very convincing evidence for the close training of the lead artist of the

^{336.} See Branner’s discussion of the three groups of ‘descendants’ from the early manuscripts he ascribes to the Johannes Grusch atelier (1977), p. 83.

^{337.} *Ibid.*

William of Devon group in the Johannes Grusch atelier.³³⁸ The marked preference for Parisian iconography is further evidence for the geographical origins of the lead painter of the William of Devon group. Branner argues that the somewhat undeveloped figure style of the Johannes Grusch atelier is relatively static during the workshop's most productive middle period (c. 1250-60). Similarly there is little development of figure style in the William of Devon group. While Branner notes nuanced differences in the painting of facial shapes and beards as the painters of the early phase of the Grusch atelier diverge in style, the marginal decoration develops strongly, with the delicate forms of the early phase replaced with more emphasis on the border work itself.³³⁹ It is this characteristic of the Grusch atelier which makes the William of Devon group so distinctive in the context of thirteenth-century English manuscript embellishment.

In comparison to the Sarum Master group, the role of penflourishing in the work of the William of Devon circle is even less dominant. The William of Devon group, after the style of the minor initials painter of the Johannes Grusch atelier, largely dispenses with penflourishing for both the framing of the text block and for line fillers. The focus of the design of the folio is the development of the semi-bar border, most often executed in pigment. While the de Brailes group uses a combination of penwork and pigment to execute *bas de page* embellishment, the William of Devon group concentrates on a more dominant pigment frame, seemingly resilient enough to support the expanding repertoire of drolleries and grotesques that populate the semi-bar borders.

³³⁸ See Branner, 'The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origins of the William of Devon Painter', *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1974), pp. 24-30.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*

Bodleian Bible MS Auct. D. I. 7 unites many attributes of the William of Devon group of manuscripts as a whole. It is a large format Bible, not of the size that suggests portability, at 365 x 233 mm. The Bible is complete and consists of 409 folios. Morgan dates it to c. 1260-70 and assigns it to the William of Devon group on the basis of the semi-bar borders and the distinctive drolleries that populate the borders.³⁴⁰ Like the Bible of William of Devon in the British Library, this Bible opens with Jerome's Prologue accompanied by depictions of orders of friars on pedestals (Figure 4.29).



Figure 4.29: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. I. 7, f. 1r.

The Bible includes a Double Psalter with the Gallican and Hebraic Psalms arranged

³⁴⁰ See NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 161-62.

side by side (Figure 4.30). Both versions of the Psalms are illustrated almost completely by historiated initials, a feature which does not occur in the de Brailles Bibles that carry Double Psalters. The de Brailles Double Psalters are decorated with puzzle initials only.



Figure 4.30: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct.D. 1. 7, f. 170v.

MS. Auct. D. 1. 7 contains *fleuronnée* penwork that embellishes the capitals which open chapters as well as less extensive *fleuronnée* for the smaller verse capitals. The *fleuronnée* is very consistently applied, seemingly by one hand. The flourishes extend both above and below the capital for twenty lines respectively. Specific attributes of the flourishing, such as the extended open loop and long stalked bulb are included by Scott Fleming in her classification of *fleuronnée* that is particularly English, and more

frequently applied after the mid-thirteenth century.³⁴¹ If this analysis of *fleuronné* type is correct, then it is possible to suggest that an English hand applied the flourishing to the Bible, while a different, Parisian- trained hand applied the historiated initials and the drolleries (Figure 4.31).



Figure 4.31: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct.D. 1. 7, f. 146v.

Large-scale Italianate *bas de page* extensions are absent from this Bible. There is only one *bas de page* drawing on f. 99v, and this is clearly a scribal addition. The lone dragon, executed in red ink, sits next to the finial of another vertical flourish of the type that appears throughout the book. The dragon spouts a flourish that is identical to the flourish to its left. The shade of red ink is also identical for both the flourishes and the dragon.

³⁴¹. See Sonia Scott-Fleming, *The Analysis of Pen-Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), pp. 72-74.

The most extensive flourishing in this Bible occurs in the Double Psalter and the Index of Hebrew Names. In the Double Psalter there is one penflourished extension into the left hand margin of f. 178v. The presence of extensive flourishing for the Psalter section of this Bible is unsurprising given that thirteenth-century English Bibles often carry more developed flourishing for this section of the text. The penwork in the Index of Hebrew Names carries penwork that extends into the *bas de page*. In the de Brailes group, the Gray's Inn Bible, which has a Double Psalter, also has an Index of Hebrew Names which, although incomplete, carries both puzzle initials and extensive *fleuronnée*.

Also consistent in this Bible is the absence of guide letters, with the exception of the verses of the Psalms and the Index of Hebrew Names. Guide letters are present in the de Brailes group with great consistency, regardless of the status of the production. Even the minute script of the Bodleian study Bible includes guide letters for capitals and verses. This is also the case for the Book of Hours and the Stockholm Psalter. The presence of guide letters in Bodleian MS. Auct. D.I.7 for the complexities of the Double Psalter is unsurprising, as it is for the extensive listing of names for the Index of Hebrew Names. Both of these features are not consistently present in thirteenth-century Bibles, and it would seem likely that rubricators might need extra guidance in these instances.

The best-known book from the William of Devon group bears many similarities to the Bodleian William of Devon Bible. In contrast to the Bodleian Bible, this Bible carries an extensive series of prefatory miniatures that reflect new French developments in painting style. Elongated swaying bodies and broad-fold draperies are all present in the series of miniatures in the Bible of William of Devon. There is much more attention to flourishing in the Bible as well in the form of both

penflourished border bars and a more extensive vocabulary of *fleuronnée*. The flourisher for the Bible of William of Devon uses vertebrate and feathered flourishes as well as crosshatched balls and open loops. The structure of the infills for the capitals is also more complex than that supplied for the Bodleian Bible. There are up to four separate sections of infill within a single capital. Dots of blue also accent the intricacies of the infilling. The other important addition to the flourishing for the William of Devon Bible is the use of gold for the baseline of some flourishes. This is in stark contrast to the simple blue and red used for the Bodleian Bible. What is most striking about the flourishing in the Bible of William of Devon is the separation of the penflourished semi-bar borders from the text block itself. In contrast to the use of penflourished decorative bands that surround the text block in the Wilton Psalter, the semi-bar borders in the Bible of William of Devon are applied some distance from the text block. They strongly indicate frames as opposed to the borders of the text implied by the penflourished bands in the work of the Sarum Master (Figure 4.32).



Figure 4.32: London, BL, Royal MS 1 D. i, f. 1r.

The flourishing in the Bible of William of Devon is never used to travel across the top margin unless it is attached to a running title. It also never appears independently in the *bas de page*, and diagonal pen extensions do not occur. While flourishing is a significant background to *mise-en-page* for the Bible of William of Devon, it does not carry the visual impact of the flourishing employed in the Wilton Psalter from the

Sarum Master group. The emergence of the pigment frame is the dominant element of the William of Devon group.

The opening for the Gallican Psalms in Royal MS 1 D. i underscores the consistency of the use of the semi-bar borders with grotesques along with penflourished semi-bars. The combination of the pigment and penflourished semi-bar borders creates the distinctive look of the folio. The pigment borders are however the preferred surface for the stance of the drolleries and naturalistic birds and animals. Penflourishing is consistently associated with letters while the pigment borders are connected with figures whether they are grotesque or naturalistic elements (Figures 4.33 and 4.34).



Figure 4.33: London, BL, Royal MS 1 D. i, f. 232r.

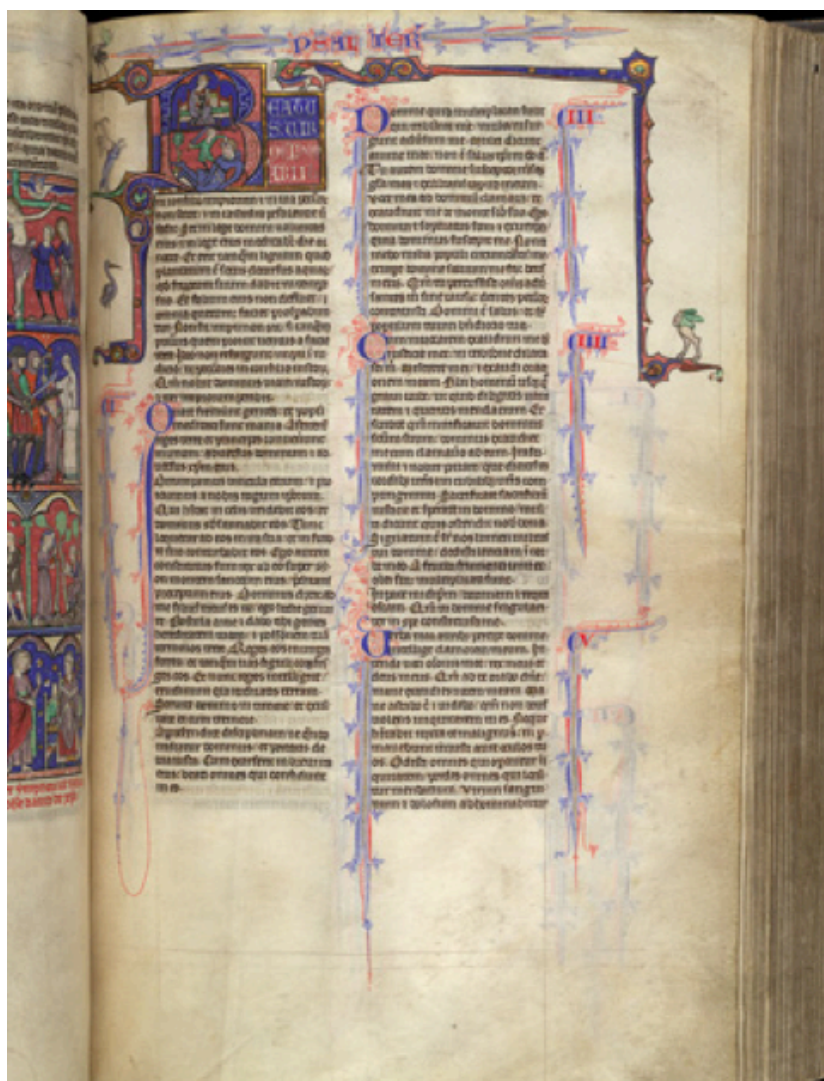


Figure 4.34: London, BL, Royal MS 1 D. i, f. 232r.

Rodney Thomson dates Corpus Christi MS 1 to c. 1250-60.³⁴² It is again a large format Bible, 275 x 190 mm, and its decorative programme shares many attributes with the two large format Bibles described previously. In contrast to these Bibles, however, Corpus Christi MS 1 bears much less penflourished work than either the Bodleian Bible or the Bible of William of Devon. Penflourishing in this Bible is restricted to the embellishment of either running titles across the top margin

³⁴² See Rodney M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2011), p. 3.

of the folio, or vertical flourishing descending from chapter numbers in the margins of the folios. Corpus Christi MS 1 opens with Jerome's Prologue in a familiar layout. Jerome sits at his writing desk under a gothic arch. In the top margin, the stem of the historiated letter extends to create a semi-bar border that supports a tableau of grotesques. In the decorative semi-bar border that extends from the bottom stem of the letter 'F' in the *bas de page*, a group of centaur-like grotesques engage in battle with round shields and broad swords. Another centaur-like creature aims a bow and arrow at a hare pursued by two blue hounds (Figure 4.35 and 4.36).



Figure 4.35: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 1, f. 1r.



Figure 4.36: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 1, f. 1r.

Even in the Psalms of this Bible, the flourishing is very restrained. Each Gallican Psalm begins with either an inhabited or a decorated initial. The verses begin with alternate blue or red capitals but these are not augmented with flourishing of any type. The grotesques that appear are often in interaction with each other, and they are painted in striking pigments. The sub-text of these combative tableaux is the dominant decorative feature of this Bible. The flourishing is related only to finding one's place in the text. The penflourishing here is a minor element in *mise-en-page* for this folio, and for the Corpus Christi Bible in general. It is applied only in blue and red ink, and is always associated with either running titles or chapter numbers. The incipit for Romans exemplifies *mise-en-page* for the Corpus Christi Bible. On this folio there is a running title in red and blue ink, a flourished chapter numeral in the margin, (not visible in this figure) and a semi-bar border populated by a hunting

tableau. Saint Paul is depicted in the opening initial for the book (Figure 4.37).

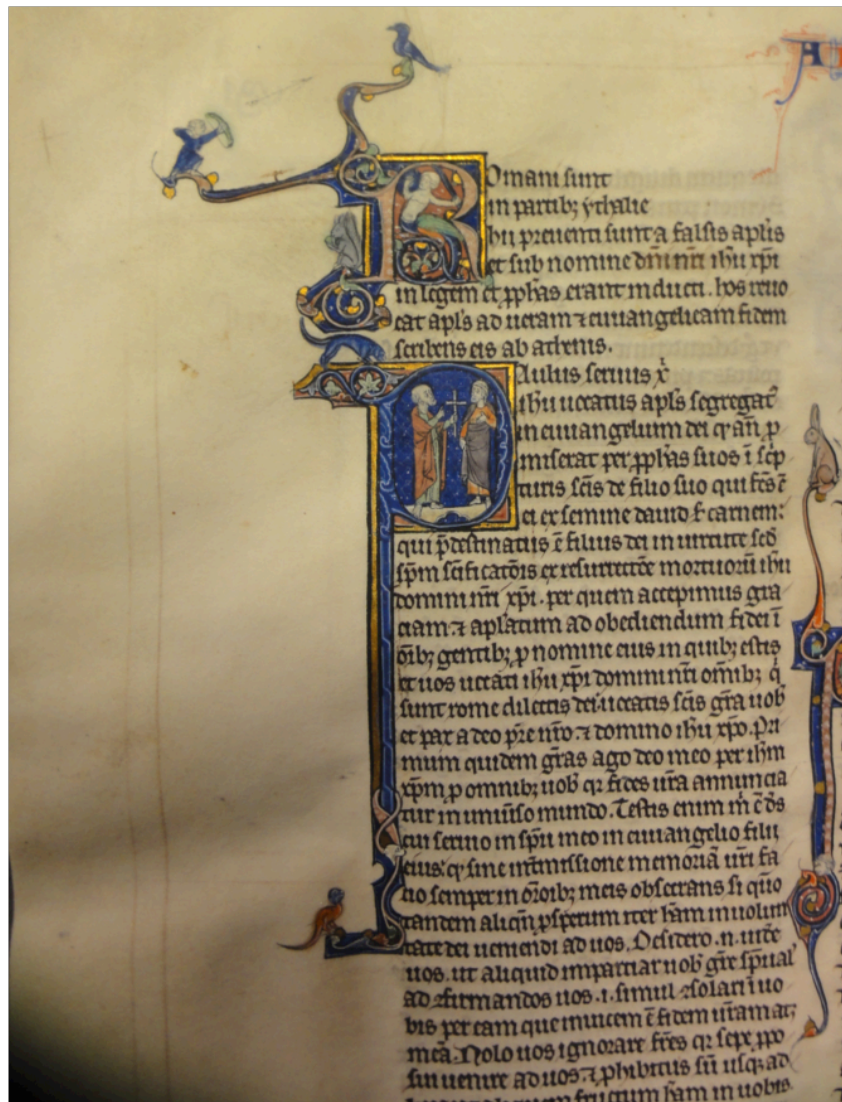


Figure 4.37: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 1, f. 431v.

Both Morgan and M.R. James date Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 116 (2.1.6), a large-scale Bible (412 x 254 mm), to the middle of the century, *c.* 1250.³⁴³ Morgan suggests that this is a ‘companion’ Bible to the Bodleian William of Devon Bible. It is similar with regard to figure style and iconography as well as decorative design. Although this Bible carries less flourishing than the Bible of William of

³⁴³ See NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 160-61, and M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Emmanuel College Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), pp.102-04.

Devon at the British Library, the same flourisher may be involved. The flourishing repertoire of the British Library William of Devon Bible is also present in the Emmanuel Bible. Like the William of Devon British Library flourisher, the infills for the capitals in the Emmanuel Bible are often divided into four sections, which are accented by blue dots. The flourisher also employs single stroke extensions from chapter numbers that terminate in a single flicked return. Crosshatched balls are also in evidence. However, although the same flourisher may have worked on both the British Library's Bible of William of Devon and the Emmanuel Bible, the flourisher follows different *mise-en-page* in the two productions. The flourishing in the Emmanuel Bible is, like the flourishing in the Corpus Christi Bible, associated only with running titles, chapter numbers, or incipit letters for the start of chapters or verses. The flourishing does not occur in the margins for purely decorative purposes, as it does in the Bible of William of Devon at the British Library.

The flourishing in the Double Psalter of the Emmanuel Bible is more extensive than that in the rest of the book. The Psalms open with a large double register pair of historiated initials for Psalm 1. The Psalms that follow begin with alternate blue and red flourished capitals. The *fleuronnée* that surrounds the capitals can carry long extenders that travel into the *bas de page*. This is also the case for the Index of Hebrew Names. The capitals for each name are executed in alternating red and blue ink, and extenders can travel from the capitals to the *bas de page*. The role of the flourishing in this production, like the Bodleian Bible and the Corpus Christi Bible, is strongly linked to finding one's way around the text. The decorative role of the grotesques, and naturalistic birds and animals that inhabit the frames for historiated and decorated initials, along with the semi-bars that extend from them are the dominant design element in this book.

The Lumley Bible shares only one folio that associates it with the rest of the Bibles in the William of Devon group. It is dated in the British Library online catalogue to the second half of the thirteenth century.³⁴⁴ It is also a large format Bible (395mm x 270 mm) like the others in the group. The Lumley Bible is placed in the William of Devon group by virtue of this single folio, the incipit for Genesis on f. 3v. (Figure 4.38).



Figure 4.38: London, BL, MS Royal MS 1 E. ii, f. 3v.

³⁴⁴. See <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=5348&CollID=16&NStart=10502>>.

The historiated letter stem for 'I' (*In principio*) terminates in the *bas de page*. On the top bar of the letter two green leaves have been placed, along with two lion-heads whose open mouths grasp the letter in Romanesque fashion. On the bottom bar of the 'I', grotesques mirror each other in confrontational stances. Two hooded bipeds stare at two bearded and hooded grotesque men. These hooded creatures placed in combative poses on the decorated bar of a letter strongly suggest the work of the William of Devon group. The rest of the decorative work in the Lumley Bible, however, diverges from the four previous examples. The following major openings for the Lumley Bible are executed with puzzle initials. The puzzle initials are extremely fine with delicate flourishing both within and surrounding the capitals. The type of flourishing in the Lumley Bible does not occur elsewhere in the William of Devon group (Figure 4.39).



Figure 4.39: London, BL, Royal MS 1 E. ii, f. 20v.

The Lumley Bible flourisher is extremely skilful and inventive. Puzzle initials are often classed as an inexpensive substitute for illumination in pigment, but the use of these highly attractive puzzle initials may suggest an aesthetic preference expressed by the patron of the Lumley Bible or perhaps the master designer of the work (Figure 4.40).



Figure 4.40: London, BL, MS Royal 1E. ii, f. 364r

The William of Devon group uses puzzle initials in the same way that the William de Brailes circle does. In the William de Brailes group, puzzle initials are used when de Brailes or a close associate supplied limited illumination to the book. The books that use puzzle initials, instead of illuminated or historiated initials are the Perth Bible, Bodleian Laud Lat.13, Christ Church 105 and the York Bible. In each of these four Bibles, the de Brailes hand supplies a historiated initial for Jerome's Prologue, showing Jerome at his writing desk in all four examples, followed by historiated vesicas illustrating the Days of Creation. Puzzle initials supply the bulk of the

decorative content of the Bibles. In the William of Devon group, the Lumley Bible follows this same pattern, with the illumination occurring at the opening for Genesis (f. 3v.). The semi-bar borders with their population of hybrids that also appear on this folio are the elements of the book which prompted Bennett to propose the inclusion of this Bible in the William of Devon group.³⁴⁵ The puzzle initials in the Lumley Bible, while similar in colour composition to those found in the de Brailes puzzle initial Bibles – that is either blue capitals with red flourishing within the space of the letter or vice versa – are finer in structure than those found in the de Brailes puzzle group. The Lumley Bible puzzle initials show not only more delicate work but also the use of coloured ink in the text that abuts the capital. Additionally, inside either the bowls of the letters or the space between the lines of the letter shape, there are further shapes suggested by the use of an alternate colour. For example, in the capital ‘H’ on f. 20v, there is a vase-shaped ‘v’ suggested by the use of blue ink on a predominantly red-flourished ground. This technique is not used in any of the de Brailes puzzle initial Bibles. So although the format whereby the lead artists of particular production groups supply only limited illuminated content to a particular book (with the bulk of the decoration being composed of ink as opposed to pigment embellishment) was common to both the William de Brailes and the William of Devon groups, the stylistic elements of the puzzle initials themselves diverge significantly. The exceptionally complex and accomplished design of the puzzle initials in the Lumley Bible suggest that their inclusion was a deliberate choice by either the patron or designer of the Bible as a whole. The puzzle initials in the de Brailes Bibles while attractive enough, are certainly not exceptional in the context of

³⁴⁵ See Bennett (1972), pp. 31-40.

thirteenth-century book embellishment. While the differences in the style of the puzzle initials may indicate contrasting levels of status for this type of decoration, the use of puzzle initials following on after the opening of the work with illumination supplied by the hand of a recognizable master does indicate consistent production technique for these two groups, both most probably based in Oxford.

The Cuerden Psalter is perhaps the most developed survival of the style of the William of Devon group. Morgan dates it to *c.* 1270.³⁴⁶ Both the development of the figure style used for the prefatory miniature cycle and the historiated initials, as well as the complex arrangement of grotesques in the semi-bar borders suggest that this is a mature example of the work of this group (Figure 4.41).



Figure 4.41: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 756, f. 11r.

³⁴⁶ NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 157-60.

In comparison to the group of Bibles examined for the William of Devon group, the opening for Psalm 1 in the Cuerden Psalter shows marked development with regard to not only figure style, but also to the boldness of the application of the semi-bar borders and grotesques. The grotesques have not only increased in number but in size. There is a double register of marginalia in the *bas de page* of this folio. The top register shows hooded bipeds and birds interacting. The lower register depicts a hunting scene with naturalistic animals and men in pursuit. One man lifts a horn to his lips and another prepares to release an arrow from a taut bow. What is absent from this vibrant *mise-en-page* however is penflourishing of any sort. While line fillers are used in the traditional form in the verses of the Psalms, there is no flourishing around either the historiated letters or the decorated capitals that begin each verse (Figure 4.42).

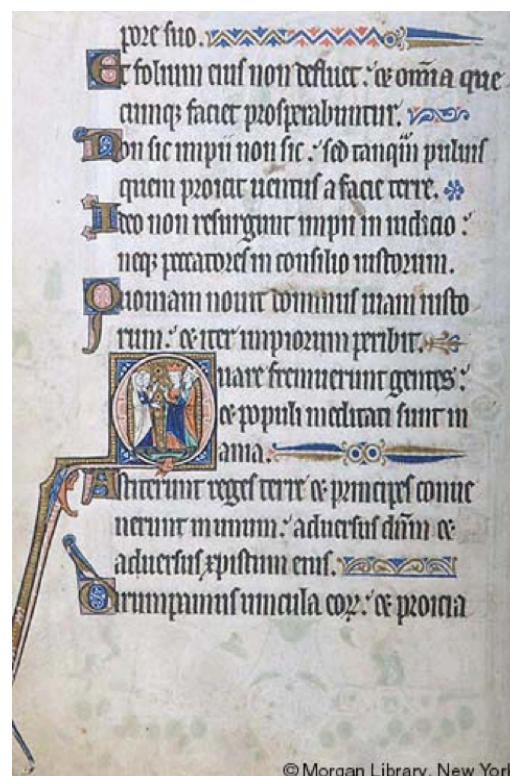


Figure 4.42: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 756, f. 11v.

In contrast to the decorative programmes for the Wilton Psalter in the Sarum Master group and the Stockholm and New College Psalters in the William de Brailes group, this is a very significant departure. While line fillers continue to be used, although it may be argued that the line fillers in the Cuerden Psalter are of a more subtle variety than those of the Wilton Psalter and the de Brailes' Psalters, the use of penflourishing in the form of *fleuronnée* is strongly reduced. The use of penflourishing for suggested frames for the text as seen in the Wilton Psalter has also disappeared in this example. The use of the frame composed in pigment, as opposed to pen, is also evident in the Cuerden Psalter (Figure 4.43).



Figure 4.43: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 756, f. 60r.

Like the Cuerden Psalter, the Blackburn Psalter is also a late product of the William of Devon group, dated to *c.* 1270-80.³⁴⁷ It too opens with a series of prefatory miniatures, but these are in full register, as opposed to the sexpartite structures for each folio of the Cuerden Psalter prefatory cycle. The Blackburn Psalter miniatures trace the life of Christ. As in the Cuerden Psalter, there is an emphasis on Marian iconography (Figure 4.44).



Figure 4.44: Blackburn, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS 091.21001, f. 6v.

The calendar for the Blackburn Psalter is decorated only with red and blue penflourishing across the top margin, to complement the ‘KL’ that begins the entry for each month. The text of the Psalms is presented with historiated initials for the

³⁴⁷ NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 154-55.

major Psalms and alternate red and blue flourished capitals for the beginnings of each verse (Figure 4.45).



Figure 4.45: Blackburn, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS 091.21001, ff. 45v-46r.

Every element of the William of Devon group appears in this opening: the semi-bar border populated by adversarial grotesques, the mirrored birds on the top of the bar border on the recto side of the opening, the use of alternate red and blue flourishing to decorate the verses of the Psalms, and the use of line fillers in red and blue ink. The line fillers in the Blackburn Psalter however are of a repetitive, rather stock type. The retreat of the flourished decorative frame is also in evidence here. The dominance of the semi-bar border to *mise-en-page* is clear.

Morgan dates British Library Egerton MS 1151, the only surviving Book of

Hours from the William of Devon group, to c. 1260-70.³⁴⁸ The extensive use of penflourishing in the *mise-en-page* may indicate that the book may date from earlier in the cycle of the William of Devon group. The progression of the books of the William of Devon group thus far has demonstrated the retreat of penflourishing in general as a decorative form, with the pigment semi-bar border, accommodating both naturalistic and grotesque figures, to be in the ascendant chronologically. The penflourishing used in the Book of Hours differs markedly from the flourishing in any of the other examples from the group. This flourisher uses wide loops and tight scrolls to terminate the loops. The diagonal flourished extensions that reach across the *bas de page* are unique to the corpus (Figure 4.46). Line endings similar to those found in the Blackburn Psalter also indicate that this book dates from the middle range of the group.

³⁴⁸ NJM, *EGM* 2, pp. 155-57.



Figure 4.46: London, BL, Egerton MS 1151, f. 92r.

The combination of the diagonal pen extensions across the *bas de page* sometimes seems to present design problems for the artists. In Figure 4.47, the pen flourished diagonal intersects the bar border in a manner that suggests some confusion in planning the layout of the folio (Figure 4.47).



Figure 4.47: London, BL, Egerton MS 1151, f. 47r.

Flourishing is used only in the *fleuronnée* form to surround the opening letters of each verse of the Psalms. Either historiated or decorated initials indicate the incipit for the individual Psalms. The flourished diagonal extensions are present throughout the Book of Hours. The Book demonstrates conflict between the two mediums used for framing devices in the thirteenth century.

Progression of Decorative Styles

In comparison to the corpus of the William de Brailes group, the Sarum Master group shows much less evidence for the use of penflourishing. The two Psalters in the Sarum Master group, the Wilton Psalter and the Amesbury Psalter show more interest in the use of flourishing than the Missal of Henry of Chichester and the Bible of William of Hales. While the Sarum Master group is contemporaneous to the de Brailes group, the Sarum Master group does not employ Italianate *bas de page* structures in its most highly decorative examples. There is not enough consistency in the use of penflourished decoration in the works attributed to the Sarum Master to demonstrate a consistent approach to decorative embellishment. For the Sarum Master, commercial recognition was via the illuminations themselves. The books were associated with the work of mainly one person, possibly aided by assistant painters. The idea of a recognizable ‘look of a book’ with regard to commercial advantage is not applicable to this group of manuscripts.

The de Brailes corpus, with its three distinct styles of manuscript embellishment, suggests commercial awareness as related to a recognizable type of product. The use of Italianate decorative devices suggests that de Brailes was in a position to observe new types of decorative methods. His location in the heart of the university, together with his familiarity with university texts, suggest that he may have been able to observe Italianate style in books required for both the study of law and theology. Some of the exemplars for these books may have been produced in Bologna or Paris. De Brailes’ use of Italianate style for the decoration of his high status books reveals an artist who is able to see the commercial opportunities offered by a new style. His association of his works with this style seems to suggest both commercial self-awareness and acumen. This connection between style and

individual artist may be an important component in the development of commercial book production in thirteenth-century England. This style was rooted to the use of penwork, of various types, in the productions associated with one artist.

The role of the penflourished decorative accoutrement, particularly in the *bas de page* of the manuscript is seen to lose dominance in the corpus of the manuscripts ascribed to the William of Devon group. The waning of the penwork frame and the rise of the pigment enclosure are witnessed by decorative developments in the group. Both the influence of Parisian style and patron preference must have influenced this development. The William of Devon group indicates the direction in which decorative accoutrement to manuscripts will develop in the fourteenth century. The influence of French style in general in the second half of the thirteenth century in England may also play a part in the ascendance of Parisian style to book decoration. The distinctive decorative style of the William of Devon group also indicates self-awareness with regard to commercial recognition. Like de Brailes, the lead artist of the William of Devon group recognized the commercial viability of an individual style. The absence of this sense of commercial awareness in the Sarum Master manuscripts demonstrates the progression of commercial trends in the realm of thirteenth-century book production.

With regard to additional English manuscripts produced commercially in the second half of the thirteenth century, it is difficult to establish 'house styles' without the presence of a substantial group of survivals. As previously mentioned, the Vienna Hours (Vienna, Museum für angewandte Kunst., Cod. Lat. XIV (S5)), produced in Oxford c. 1250-55 possibly shows the work of one of the same flourishing hands that worked on the Stockholm Psalter. The Vienna Hours was certainly produced by a different illuminating hand, distinct from that of de Brailes and his circle. It is a very

small format book (16 cm x 11 cm), and the text, apart from the calendar that is in a different hand, is very large. The emphasis here is the illuminated content. The Salvin Hours (London, BL, Add. MS 48985), produced in Oxford c. 1270, demonstrates the delicate fleuronée technique used in the Oscott Psalter, although the emphasis in this Book of Hours is certainly the large historiated initials. The Harley Hours, (London, BL, Harley MS 928) produced possibly in London c. 1280-90, registers an interest in marginal grotesques. Some of the Harley MS 928 grotesques are similarly constructed hybrids to those found in the William of Devon group, with animal legs and human torsos and heads that are often covered with a pointed cap (Figure 4.48).



Figure 4.48: London, BL, Harley MS 928, f. 10r.

The influence of naturalistic depiction of animals in the marginal register is also

apparent in the Harley Hours. The ultimate manifestation of this style is found in the manuscripts associated with the Alphonso Psalter. These books, most probably made in London in the last quarter of the century, demonstrate the use of the fully bordered text with a pigment frame that carries tiny grotesques, and extremely accurate depictions of birds in particular. The Alphonso Psalter (London, BL, Add. MS 24686); the Bird Psalter (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 2-1954); the Ashridge Peter Comestor (London, BL, Royal MS 3 D. vi); and the incomplete Bible that is BL Royal MSS 3 E. i-v and viii, represent this style (Figure 4.49).³⁴⁹

³⁴⁹ For the Alphonso Psalter and the manuscripts associated with it see *Royal Manuscripts, The Genius of Illumination*, ed. by Scot McKendrick, John Lowden and Kathleen Doyle (London: BL, 2011). For the Alphonso Psalter (BL, Add. MS 24686) made for Prince Alphonso, second son of Edward I and Eleanor of Castile *c.* 1284 in anticipation of his marriage to Margaret, daughter of Florent V, Count of Holland and Zeeland see pp. 130-31, for the Ashridge Peter Comestor (BL, Royal 3 D.vi) see pp. 128-29. The manuscript has been associated with Edmund of Cornwall, and his father Richard, Earl of Cornwall, cousin of Edward I. For BL Royal 3 E. i-v and viii, see pp. 124-25. This manuscript is not associated with a royal commission but fits stylistically into the group. See also the Bird Psalter, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 2-1954. This Psalter includes the arms of Holland and may be associated as a companion piece to the Alphonso Psalter, perhaps intended for the bride. See also G. Evelyn Hutchinson, 'Attitudes toward Nature in Medieval England: The Alphonso and Bird Psalters, *Isis*, 65.1 (1974), 5-37.



Figure 4.49: London, BL, Add. MS 24686, f. 11r.

One group of books closely associated to the Alphonso Psalter, Royal MSS 3 E. i-v and viii, is especially important with regard to its possible association with another Oxford illuminator of the thirteenth century.³⁵⁰ A marginal note in Royal MS 3 E.v. has led some scholars to attribute it to the illuminator, Reginald, whose name

³⁵⁰ For BL, Royal MSS 3 E. i-v and viii, see *The Library of John, Lord Lumley: the Catalogue of 1609*, ed. by Jayne Sears and Francis R. Johnson (London: British Museum, 1956), p. 49, N.R. Ker and Andrew Watson, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987), p. 124, Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd edn (London: Phaidon, 1994 repr. 2005), p. 134, C. M. Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England 700-1550* (London and Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 148.

appears like that of de Brailes in the records of the city of Oxford.³⁵¹ The marginal note that indicates that Royal MS 3 E. v was to be sent to a '*Reg[inald]um oxon.*' for completion can be interpreted in various ways according to the case in which the inscription is translated. The expansion of the abbreviation *oxon.* into its dative or genitive form gives two very different interpretations of the intended fate of the manuscript when the first campaign was abandoned. The book could have been sent to Reginald of Oxford if the genitive is used, not necessarily implying that either the book or Reginald was in Oxford to begin with, or to Reginald at Oxford in the dative form indicating that the book was to be sent from its original production location to Oxford where Reginald would complete the work. While the inscription is important in this respect, and the mention of Reginald by name is an extremely unusual and fortuitous inclusion, there has perhaps been an overemphasis on the implications of the inscription. The decorative component of the book also has much to reveal about the place where the book was produced. To conclude this chapter, Royal MSS i-v and viii will be examined in depth with regard to both the intention of the inscription and the decorative content of the books. The debate concerning the production location for these books brings together the primary concerns of this dissertation.³⁵² While the inscription may indicate that the manuscripts are associated in some way with the book production centre of Oxford, the decorative content suggests that the books

³⁵¹. See Christopher de Hamel's attribution in *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (1986), p. 141. Michael Michael also attributes it to Reginald in 'Urban Production of Manuscript Books and the Role of University Towns' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, v. II 1100-1400, ed. by Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 168-194.

³⁵². Nigel Morgan argues that the inscription alone does not provide enough evidence for attribution to Reginald. He notes that it is only the juxtaposition of the de Brailes colophon to the self-portraits that absolutely confirm the attribution to de Brailes. Morgan also suggests that the figure style of the historiated initials in Royal MS i-v appear 'more French than English' (Morgan (2012) p. 58). Although he does see a slight resemblance of the figure style of Royal MS 3 E. i-v to that of the artists of the William of Devon group, he does not recognize the anomaly of the bar border in the context of late thirteenth-century decorative style in Oxford.

were produced elsewhere. Most particularly, the style of the bar borders that feature in the completed sections of the book bring into question the attribution of the books to Reginald as an established Oxford illuminator. This feature, which does not appear in Oxford productions of the last quarter of the century, but does feature in the London produced books that have been associated with the Alphonso Psalter, indicates that these books were perhaps intended to be sent to Reginald for completion, but that they were originally produced elsewhere, most probably in London. This interpretation of the evidence in these books demonstrates that the study of marginal decorative material can have useful implications for identifying both the date and location of the production of the manuscripts.

Royal MSS 3 E. i-v and viii

Royal 3 E. v is the ultimate codex in the group of manuscripts BL Royal MS 3 E i-v. These are all components of a glossed bible with the *Glossa Ordinaria* that are dated by the British Library to the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Royal MS 3 E. i contains Genesis and Exodus, Royal MS 3 E. ii: Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, Royal MS 3 E. iii: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Esdras, Nehemiah, Tobit, Judith, Esther, and Maccabees 1-2. Royal MS 3 E. iv contains Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus and the incomplete 3 E. v contains Ezekiel and Daniel. Royal MS 3 E viii, which contains the Gospels with the *Glossa ordinaria* is also attributed to the same production group.

Each of these manuscripts carries diverse marginal notations that refer to the illumination and decoration of each volume. Some of the marginal notations are in a tidy thirteenth-century bookhand that carefully tabulates the precise number of large and small letters and *paraph* marks that the respective volumes contain. De Hamel

notes that the sum total for volumes i-v are 12,406 *minute littere* and *paragrafi* and 1,453 *grosse littere*.³⁵³ If the tabulation that appears on f. 329 r. of Royal MS 3 E. viii is added to this calculation, the total comes to 19,751 for the *parve littere* and *paragrafi* and to 3,072 for the *grosse littere*. (*In isto volumine s[un]t p[ar]ve litt[er]e / et p[ar]agrafi 7 [m] 3[c] et 495 it[em] litt[er]e / grosse 16c et 19*) (Figure 4.50).

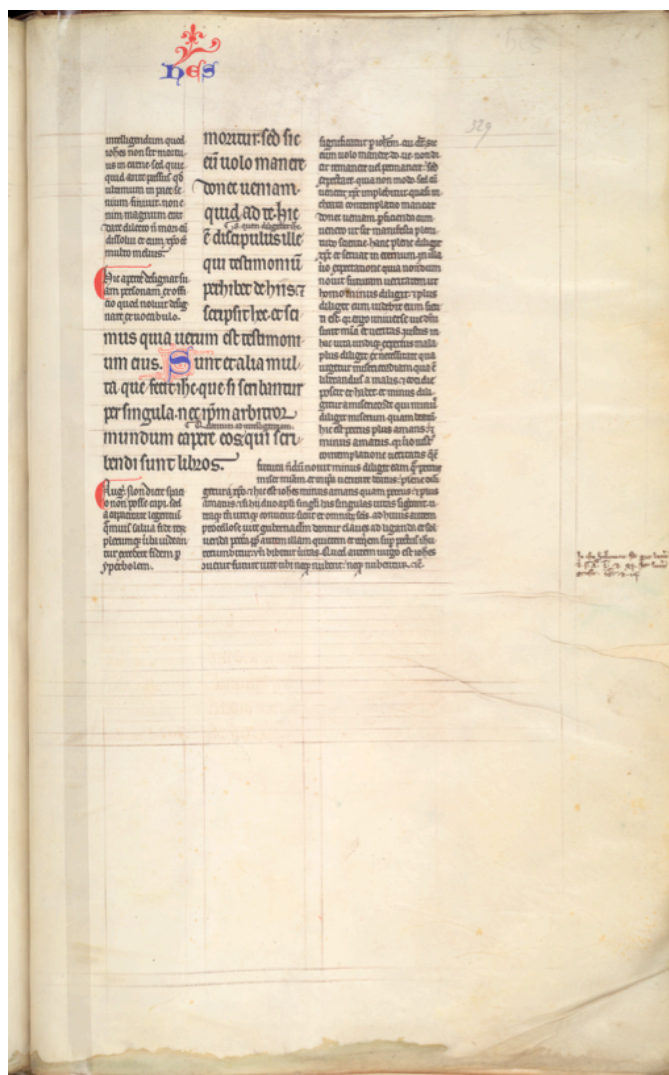


Figure 4.50: London, BL, Royal MS 3 E. viii, f. 329r.

These manuscripts also contain along with the marginal tabulations, sketches for the illuminations, indicating that there were at least two if not three distinct stages

³⁵³ See de Hamel, p. 140.

of the production process for the folios of the volume. Along with the above-mentioned careful bookhand that appears in the margin of the ultimate folio of each volume, with the exception of the incomplete Royal MS 3 E v. in which the inscription appears on f. 91v. at the point where the rubrication ceases, there is another lightly applied but more expansive hand which seems to convey rough notes to the subsequent illuminators of the books. For example in Royal 3 E. i faint sketches for some of the historiated initials appear on f. 112 r. There is a large but faintly written 'h' for the first word (*hec*) of Exodus. Next to the letter in the margin is a barely detectable sketch using simple outlines of Moses with his horns receiving the tablets from the Lord. The arrangement for the transfer of the tablets to the hands of Moses is more suggested than drawn specifically, as is the physical appearance of God. The historiated initial that appears in the finished text adheres to the general layout of the sketch, but the details of the historiation are greatly developed. The faint marginal sketches appear as more of a shorthand for what was required than a pattern to be carefully followed. Both the initial 'h' and the sketch are almost scrawled at speed across the upper right hand margin of f. 112r. by an illuminator who trusted that his rough sketch would be properly executed in the form of the final historiated initial. There is a possibility that these sketches were made by the master who executed the illumination for the beginning of Genesis in this volume.



Figure 4.51: London, BL, Royal MS 3 E. 1, f. 3r.

This series of eight roundels depicting the seven days of Creation and the Crucifixion is very much more sophisticated than the other two historiated initials in Royal MS 3 E i. (Figure 4.51). These two historiated initials depict Moses as described above and a figure on f.1 r., which opens the volume, shows a seated man with an open book in his hands. The identification of the latter figure could be the perceived author of the

Glossa Ordinaria, Gilbertus Universalis. This figure sits awkwardly on a bench with poorly executed arms that extend from mid-body. The frame is square and the figure wears a deep-blue robe with some figure-defining folds, but these are minimal. The initial is on a background of the same vibrant blue of the robes that have faint clay-coloured stars or flowers in the corners.

In contrast, the descending roundels which open Genesis contain sophisticated figure style, with particular regard to facial expressions. The bodily form of the suffering Christ is done with an anatomical correctness unusual for this date. The facial features are particularly well drawn, with facial folds demarcated with delicate lines and detailed eyes. The frame that surrounds the opening of the Genesis folio has two distinct elements of composition. The first is the curvilinear structure of the frame itself. This type of framing device develops from the mid-century onwards, and it is used extensively by the artists of the Alphonso Psalter, which can be closely dated to 1284.

The other feature of the frame used in Royal MSS 3 E. i-v and viii, is the presence of naturalistic birds along with other animals and grotesques perching, resting or moving on the frames themselves. The frames found in Royal MS 3 E. i-v and viii have more in common with the frames of the Alphonso Psalter than with those of the William of Devon group. The latter has most often semi-bar borders that suggest a frame rather than connecting to form a frame for the folio. The frame for Genesis in Royal MS E. 3 i is more exuberant. Birds, beasts and grotesques populate the frame. There is an owl, a magpie, a stork, a fox and a dog in pursuit of a rabbit, and an ape, perhaps a crow and on the top left-hand side is a winged grotesque. It is a harmonious and sophisticated piece of work. While complete frames are present in the Cuerden Psalter, perhaps the latest work from the William of Devon group,

frames that connect and surround the text block as a whole are found in the Ashridge Peter Comestor (BL, MS Royal 3 D. vi (c. 1284-1300)) as well as the Alphonso Psalter.

Also present along with the instructions and sketches for the illuminator are signs for the rubricator to follow. Not only are the titles written lightly in the top margin of nearly every folio, but also the numbers of the chapters are indicated in the side margins. This practice indicates that the further rubrication and illumination of this book perhaps took place in a location where its execution would not be overseen by the person or persons who wrote the instructions. This practice is not one that I have observed in Oxford-made books, and it may indicate another perhaps more dispersed production centre or the sending of the unbound manuscript for finishing in a location removed from its origin.

The exact process for the production of these volumes may not be securely recoverable, but the fact that this production was disrupted is indisputable. Royal 3 E. v. is incomplete from f. 91r. onwards. There is no rubrication from this point; f. 91r. contains the completed scribal work only. There are neither running titles, nor *paraphs* or *littere* small or large (Figure 4.52).

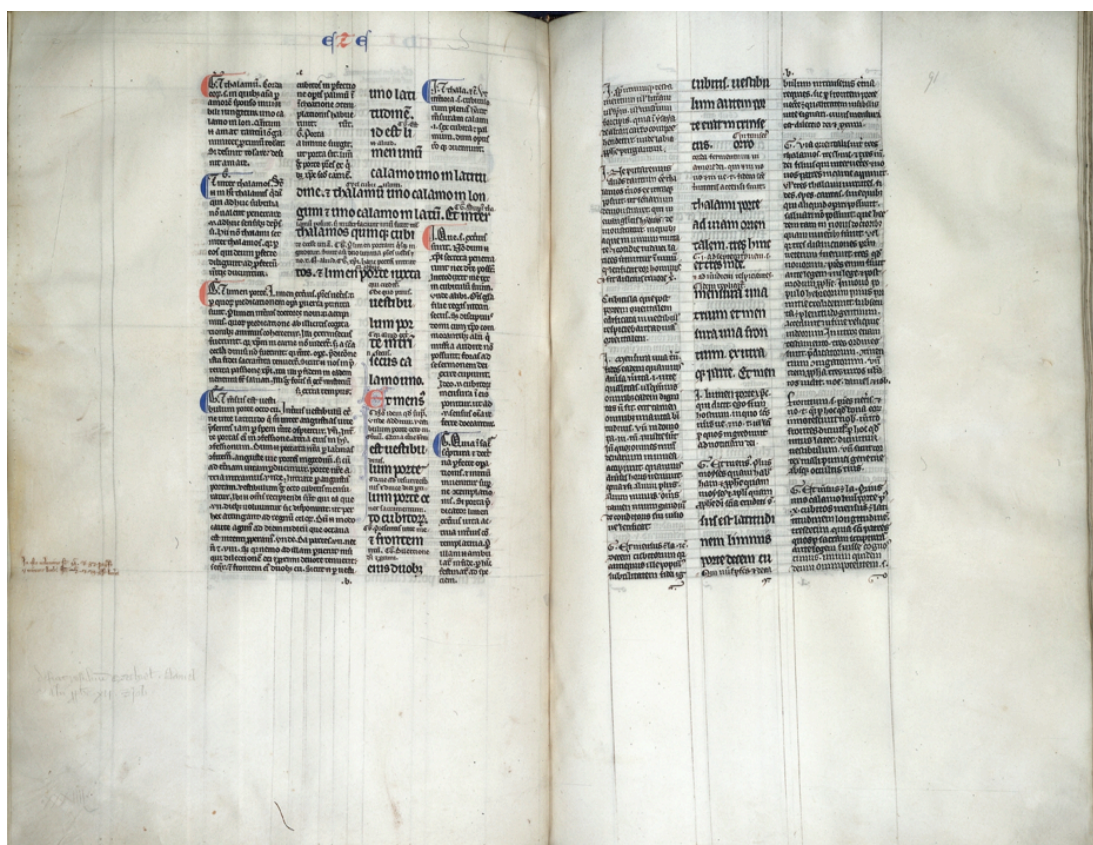


Figure 4.52: London, BL, Royal MS 3 E. v, ff. 90v-91r.

The catch-word at the bottom of f. 90v. finds its match in the appropriate place at the top of the middle column on f. 91r. but there is a clear change of scribal hand for the next gathering as well as a change in the preparation of the parchment. The pricking, which appears untrimmed in the previous sections of Royal 3 E. v. is not retained in the new gathering. The hand for f. 91r onwards is larger and less accomplished for both the biblical text and the accompanying *Glossa Ordinaria*. This scribe ends his columns with symbols as well as letters that the reader would use to find his place on the next folio. The various glosses sometimes make this a complex process with two or three different glosses to follow, with the biblical text somewhere near the middle of the arrangement. The scribe who takes over the production at f. 91 r. prefers to use symbols and only rarely employs letters to demarcate the sections of the gloss. The scribe responsible for Royal MSS 3 E. i-iv uses lower-case letters. A comparison of

the word *calamo* on f. 90v and f. 91r. clearly demonstrates the difference in scribal hand. The hand that takes over at f. 91r. is less precise in its execution and it is markedly rounder than the previous hand. The ‘o’ of the original scribe has precisely broken bows while the ‘o’ of the second scribe is nearly round. The change could certainly be attributed to lack of funds, for MS Royal 3 E. v already shows signs of difference in quality from the previous four volumes. The vertical pen extensions that appear consistently throughout the previous four volumes in the *bas de page* are completely absent from Royal MS 3 E v. However, there is no difference in the programme of illuminations for this volume. There are two historiated capitals- for Ezekiel and Daniel respectively, which conform to the style of the illuminator of the previous books. There are very slight sketches for the illuminators in both margins.

De Hamel notes that whoever did the marginal tabulation for these volumes, ‘clearly expected payment by the initial.’³⁵⁴ He also suggests that the same person was responsible for the decoration and the illumination.³⁵⁵ De Hamel, through his elucidation of a further marginal note, suggests that the illuminator may be Reginald of Oxford. In the left hand margin of f. 90v. is the usual tabulation for the number of large and small capitals as well as *paraphs* contributed to this manuscript: ‘*in isto volumine s[un]t 17c et 82 (1,782) p[ar]ag[ra]fi / et minute littere it[em] 2 c et 29 (229) g[r]osse litt[er]e.*’ On f. 102v. there is a further notation which reads ‘*hic deficit qu[a]ternus ad traditus Reg[inald]um oxon. Ad continuand[um] volum[en] istud*’. Pollard hypothesises that this inscription must allude to payment owing to the illuminator, Reginaldus, who lived with his wife Agnes at no. 94 the High Street

³⁵⁴. De Hamel (1986), p. 141.

³⁵⁵. *Ibid.*

between 1246 and 1270.³⁵⁶ Both de Hamel and Michael Michael concur with Pollard's interpretation of the purpose of the tabulation, and suggest that payment by the letter was a common practice.³⁵⁷ Michael cites a similar tabulation regarding payment for the illumination of a Psalter in the 1346 Fabric Rolls.³⁵⁸ The interpretation of the inscription in MS Royal 3 E. v. f. 102 v. has led Pollard and de Hamel to suggest that all six of the manuscripts listed as Royal MSS 3 E. i-v and viii may have been illuminated by Reginald. They interpret the inscription as implying that the manuscript has been sent to Reginald of Oxford for completion, assuming that Reginald was responsible for the illumination and decoration already executed in the five completed volumes and the incomplete final one. This reading of the inscription assumes that the manuscripts were already in Oxford, having been prepared there up to this stage in their production. However, the inscription seems to imply that the volumes were sent to Reginald from another shop, perhaps in a different production centre. 'Oxon.' in following Reginald's Christian name, does not necessarily imply a toponym. The abbreviated 'oxon.' need not be in the genitive; the dative case in a locational sense seems more likely, - the manuscript was sent to Reginald at Oxford, as opposed to Reginald of Oxford. The two Reginalds that appear in the Oxford records have the occupational surname of Illuminator. It may be suggested that the use of *oxon.* in the Oxford records would have been redundant. Others use the occupational surname of 'Illuminator' in the Oxford records, and there are two individuals that use toponyms that indicate their association with a particular section of the city; *Roberto sub Muro* and *Roberto de Bellomonte* (an area to the

³⁵⁶. See Graham Pollard, Bodleian Library Archive, MS Pollard 275, ff. 12-26.

³⁵⁷. See Michael Michael (2008), pp. 168-194.

³⁵⁸. *Ibid*, p. 77.

north of Oxford). But there are no individuals that use the toponym ‘oxon.’ in the Oxford records. It seems more likely that the construction ‘*ad traditus regin. oxon.*’ indicates that this volume was to be sent to Reginald at Oxford for completion because the original illuminator had discontinued the project. This disruption in the campaign may be attributed to lack of funds or the relocation or death of the original patron.

The stylistic attributes of these volumes in terms of figure style have little in common with Oxford productions between 1240 and 1280 with the exception of the circle of William of Devon, whose style is overwhelmingly French. Nigel Morgan finds that the stylistic attributes of the historiated initials with regard to drapery folds and facial modelling indicate French or Flemish influence.³⁵⁹ The hourglass facial outlines of the figures also place these illuminations in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, with 1260 being a very early date for their execution.³⁶⁰ Pollard discovered two Reginalds mentioned in the Oxford records. The first Reginald is the one previously discussed as Pollard’s most likely identification for the Reginald in the inscription who appears in the records in 1246/7. This individual would have been a contemporary of de Brailes, and his premises were just around the corner from de Brailes’ premises on Catte Street. The figure style of the Royal MS 3 E i-v and viii brings into question this identification. The later Reginald, who is mentioned in records relating to his widow Contassa, in 1268, seems to be the more likely identification.³⁶¹

Whether or not the artist of Royal MS 3 E. i –v and viii was a Reginald of

³⁵⁹. I thank Professor Morgan for his opinion on this matter.

³⁶⁰. *Ibid.*

³⁶¹. See Pollard, MS Pollard 275, ff.12-26. De Hamel also indicates that the later Reginald is more likely to have been the person to whom the Bible was to be directed for completion. See de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (1986 repr. 2005), pp. 140-41.

Oxford, the inscriptions supply important information on the hierarchy of thirteenth-century book decoration. There are two groups established for calculation of implied costing. The small letters and *paraph* marks are recorded jointly, while the less numerous and logically more expensive *grosse littere* are tabulated separately. The consistency of the hand that enumerates these figures throughout the manuscripts may imply that the same individual was responsible for the enumerated work. There is no mention of the penwork structures that descend consistently into the *bas de page* of these volumes. These vertical structures always extend from *paraph* marks near to the bottom of the text column, which varies according to the arrangement of the gloss on each page. It is sometimes bi-columnar, but most often it is a tripartite format with the Gloss surrounding the text of the Bible in more compact script. These pen structures may have been considered as part of the execution of the *paraphs*. The incomplete pen structure on f. 89 r. of Royal MS 3 E. ii shows a red line inked in from the *paraph* mark that occurs in the lower left hand of the text block. It is also possible that a different hand executed the vertical flourishes, and that payment for these embellishments was made separately. It does seem significant that in Royal 3 E. v, which carries no vertical pen structures at all, the system for tabulation of the work done remains the same. The absence of the penflourishing in the *bas de page* is not noted in the tabulation.

The pen structures in the *bas de page* of these manuscripts are of three general types that are altered in many different combinations. They are always red and blue, and always symmetrical. These are descendants of the *prolongations à l'italienne* but there are no grotesques involved in their construction. These flourishes are consistently vertical but they are never used in a diagonal position across the *bas de page*. Components that are expected in *prolongations* are present in

these *bas de page* structures, but they do not have the creative exuberance of the examples in the de Brailes corpus. There is predictability to these flourishes that indicates that their application was a standard addition to the production of the books. There is a vertebrate or fishbone type of construction that is usually broken up into six sections, which are individually punctuated with curling circles. The bending spines of these vertebrate shapes return to the central line at regular intervals. When the outline of the shape returns to the central line, the flourisher often adds a horizontal element to punctuate the flourish. These shapes appear often next to the site on the central line where one vertebrate shape ends and another begins. The two most often occurring horizontal elements are crosshatched balls, often in groups of three or four. Spirals or scrolls are also frequently used. The fish bone shapes are usually thicker at the top of the flourish. There is a long tail on the end of every flourish that often resolves into a finishing series of lines that suggest a scroll.

The second group of vertical pen extensions is characterised by a feathered appearance. These structures are constructed by a descending baseline that carries downward strokes on either side to give the appearance of a feather. The outline of the shape is often suggested with a line that follows the feather shape, and sometimes punctuated it with additional shapes on the outside line or next to it. These accenting shapes are various and are repeated throughout the flourishing campaign. The implied scroll is a frequent motif, as are crosshatched balls that are placed symmetrically down either side of the flourish. There are many varieties of the feathered extensions. Red feathers can carry accents in blue and vice versa. The symmetrical nature of the shape can be further accentuated by dividing the shape into two blocks of colour, with red for the top half of the structure and blue for the bottom and the reverse.

A third group of vertical extensions is characterised by bulb-like shapes that follow the descending centre line. These shapes are sometimes infilled with further detail, and they often carry details of scrolls or curls which accent the progression of the bulb-like shapes. The crosshatched balls which are a feature of the vertebrate and feathered forms described above are also present here.

All of these types are mixed for variety, and indeed each flourish is individual. In many cases, the feather form is used for the top half of the structure and the vertebrate for the bottom, or the feather form appears on one side of the centre line and the vertebrate forms clings to the other. The flourisher used his or her own discretion to execute these forms and no pattern appears to have been followed. The pen extensions which come from what must be classed as the *grosse littere* in these volumes have different structures from the pen extensions which come from the *paraphs*. These curving lines use some of the same techniques which are apparent in the vertical *bas de page* structures but these penflourishes are executed with a finer nib, and do not observe any symmetrical norms. With regard to the classification of the marginal inscriber in terms of the groupings of small letters and *paraphs* and large letters, it must be these pen-decorated capitals that compose the *grosse littere* category. The small letters and *paragrafi* must indicate the individual letters used for the running titles as well as the rubricated chapter numbers. De Hamel suggests that the larger letters would have been more expensive and that may have been the case, but there are no sums mentioned here, just a tallying up. If the vertical pen extensions are taken into account as part of many of the *paraphs* then there is the possibility that there was not a great difference in price. It does seem also that it is the same hand that has executed both the vertical pen structures and the pen-decorated letters. Both this rubricator and the lesser illuminator were following the marginal instructions left

by another person working on the manuscript. Although Ian Doyle is correct in suggesting that penflourishing was a very conventional genre, and that it is unusual to denote a personal style that identifies a specific individual at work on the flourishing, it is possible to detect changes of hand in flourishing.³⁶² The flourishing hand in the Royal MS 3 E. i-iv and viii is palaeographically consistent if not remarkably innovative within the conventions of the form.

The interpretation of the tantalising inscription regarding the sending of the incompleted books to Reginald is assisted by looking at all the components of *mise-en-page* as well as the documentary evidence. As Morgan notes, the figure style of the historiated initials has more to do with French or Flemish work than English examples. The modelled facial features in the work of the lead painter of these books in particular show great contrast to the style of de Brailes and the Master of the Rochester Breviary. The style of the lead painter in Royal MSS i-v and viii has more in common with the Parisian-trained William of Devon group than with other Oxford production groups in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. With regard to decorative technique, the use of bar borders that frame the text block for major openings also links these books to the Continental style of the William of Devon group. The curvilinear frames executed in paint host a population of grotesques and naturalistic birds and animals that also seem to indicate a common Continental source, as opposed to an Oxford origin. The design of the curvilinear frame in the aforementioned Harley Hours is strongly reminiscent of the frames in Royal MS 3 E. i-v and viii. The placement of the grotesques on the frames is another component that indicates shared influence with regard to *mise-en-page*.³⁶³ The vertical penflourishes

³⁶² See Ian Doyle, 'The English Provincial Book Before Printing', *Six Centuries of the English Book Trade*, ed. by P. Issac (Winchester: Oak Knoll, 1990), pp. 13-21.

in the *bas de page* are expertly if formulaically applied. The absence of penflourishing from the text, with the exception of the *bas de page* extensions seems to indicate the wane of this style. Although the inscription does imply that the fate of these books was to be their completion by Reginald at or of Oxford, they remained unfinished. Perhaps it was the death of Reginald himself, implied in the records by the mention of his widow, Contassa, in 1268 that left this Bible in an incomplete state. The provenance of the books reveals that the volumes were given to or commissioned by the Convent of Preachers in London.³⁶⁴ If this Dominican priory was the original destination for the Bible, it is possible that its place of production was London. The stylistic evidence strongly indicates that this was the case.

Conclusion

At the turn of the century, the frame was firmly established as a component of *mise-en-page*, although in a painted as opposed to a penflourished form. The advent of the penflourished Italian forms, the *jeux de plume* and the *prolongation à l'italienne*, had effected great developments in *mise-en-page* throughout the thirteenth century. The work of William de Brailes and his circle, early propagators of these forms in the context of deluxe liturgical books, demonstrates both their early adoption by a

^{363.} The Harley Hours also shows stylistic links to the Rutland Psalter, another manuscript with a possible London origin, with the placement of naturalistic animals as well as grotesques in the *bas de page*. These drawings are often large in scale in relation to the text and the historiated initials. The Harley Hours includes *bas de page* drawings on almost every folio including a cat with a mouse in its mouth, a camel and a unicorn. See <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8849&CollID=8&NStart=928>>.

^{364.} See *Royal Manuscripts, The Genius of Illumination*, ed. by Scot McKendrick, John Lowden and Kathleen Doyle (London: BL, 2011), pp. 124-25. The entry for Royal MS 3 E. i states that the book is in an eighteenth-century binding with a gold-stamped title that indicates an earlier binding, 'OLIM. CONVENT. /PRAED. LONDON', p. 124). It is also noted that the spine also carries the word COMITTISSAE, which may imply that the Bible was given to the priory by an unidentified countess. The books were also owned by Henry Fitzalan, 19th earl of Arundel in the sixteenth century and by John, 1st Baron Lumley (d. 1609). They came to the Royal collection via Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (d. 1612) (p. 124).

commercial producer, and foreshadows the success of the border as a decorative motif that continues to develop throughout the later Middle Ages. The flourished forms that distinguish the deluxe products of the de Brailes group are not evident in the work of the Sarum Master although flourishing plays an important role in the *mise-en-page* of both the Amesbury and Wilton Psalters. Penflourished decoration is present too in the work of the William of Devon group, but it is soon over-taken by the prominence of painted semi-bar borders. BL, Egerton MS 1151, the only surviving Book of Hours attributed to the William of Devon group, registers the presence of both penflourished *bas de page* work as well as a painted curvilinear frame to the text block. The presence of both forms of embellishment are not always harmonious. The absence of flourished penwork in the last work attributed to the William of Devon group, the Cuerden Psalter, illustrates the emerging dominance of the painted frame.

Penflourished decoration in the form of the *prolongation à l'italienne* and *jeux de plume* have led the way towards this central component of manuscript decoration in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These forms direct the progress of *mise-en-page* in the thirteenth century to the margin of the folio. The status of the decorated frame for the folio is clearly transitional in the thirteenth century. The process that has been initiated by penflourished Italian forms can be seen to be undergoing a process of solidification as the transition from penwork to painted marginal decoration proceeds. The result of this transitional process can be observed in both the Harley Psalter and Royal MS 3 E. i-v and viii. The delicately constructed forms of *jeux de plume*, replete with heads of barley and fragile-looking floreate motifs, and the ephemeral appearance of the *prolongations à l'italienne* with their feather and fishbone patterns, give way to a much more robust style for the frame of

the folio. This style, which is found in the Alphonso and Bird Psalters, the Ashridge Peter Comestor as well as Royal MSS 3 E. i-v and viii, found admirers amongst the most elite patrons of late thirteenth-century England, the family of Edward I. The curvilinear frames, descended from the work of twelfth-century Bolognese scribes as they laboured on copies of legal texts, had found themselves in quite different company.

Conclusion

This dissertation has traced the development of penflourishing in English manuscripts from the late twelfth through to the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The emergence of the form in England suggests that its reception and gestation as a decorative art was abetted by the development of the commercial book trade. The relative inexpensiveness of the ink medium and the rapidity of its execution in contrast to that of paint, placed the art of the flourish in an extremely advantageous position. The calligraphic nature of the flourish, as opposed to the compositional skills required for the execution of the miniature or the historiated initial, indicate that the nuances of flourishing could be mastered perhaps with greater alacrity. Urban centres such as Oxford, Paris and Bologna, where the members of the book trade lived and worked in close proximity to one another, created an environment where exposure to new skills and ideas would have been impossible to avoid. The proliferation and development of the form of penflourished embellishment to the folio demonstrates that these conditions which grew in response to pressure from the requirements of patrons, nurtured the new form. While the original function of penflourishing was to direct the reader of the text by indicating the organization of the components of the text itself, such as chapter and verse in liturgical texts, flourishing developed an aesthetic of its own. While its purpose may have been functional, its form expanded beyond that required for utilitarian use. Perhaps used also as an aid for memory and contemplation, the penflourished letter was a form to be included in thirteenth-century texts for the beauty of the thing itself.

The work of Květ and Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald demonstrated that the use of the penflourished letter was ubiquitous across Europe, beginning most

probably in northwestern France and Paris, and spreading rapidly across the Continent and into England. While Květ suggested that the core components of the flourish were the classical motifs of the acanthus and the palmette, it is apparent from the work of Scott-Fleming, Stirnemann and Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald that specific shapes become associated with particular geographic areas. The primary centres for book production, particularly those associated with the nascent universities, as well as political and commercial centres, emerge as dynamic loci for evolution of the flourished form.

The development of penflourishing in England is preceded by extensions to the Romanesque letter. Decorative attention in the Romanesque letter is directed towards the centre of the letter itself. The curling tendrils of acanthus and palmette forms sometimes extend from the letter in the forms of curled leaves or stretching tendrils, but they retain their essentially vegetal resemblance. In the last decades of the twelfth century, massed and compressed pensprays in red and blue ink, begin to appear associated with grotesques in the margins of English manuscripts. This development is an organic extension of Romanesque decorative technique. Although this first phase of penwork flourishing in English books shares forms characteristic of late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century penflourishing in French, especially Parisian books, such as the open and the pointing finger fans, these flourishes display what Augustyn and Jacobi-Mirwald perceive as a free flowing style, in comparison to Continental practice. As flourishing style develops in England, it becomes more compressed. Extreme examples of compression are seen in manuscripts produced in Oxford at the beginning of the thirteenth century. There is a progression from a free-flowing form of the English flourish in the late twelfth century, when English flourishing is still most closely associated with the techniques of Romanesque

decorative style, to a compressed style of densely compacted flourished lines. This style, associated with Oxford manuscripts, does not have a Continental equivalent. Early English flourishing is characterised by extreme compression. It is evidence for some resistance to Continental trends developing in Paris and Bologna. While the influence of the Parisian *fleuronnée* and the use of filigree and filigree puzzle initials are in evidence during the Early English period, the most pervasive effect on English flourishing style comes from Bologna beginning in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.

The transmission of Italian style to English book-producing circles came both directly through books produced in Bologna and other centres, but also through Parisian interpretations of those techniques. The development of two forms in the context of Italian-made law books, the *jeux de plume* and the *prolongation à l'italienne* has profound effects on the development of flourishing in English books. Both forms occur in books associated with the law in the early thirteenth century. They emerge from the late twelfth century, influenced by copies of legal texts made for the most part in Bologna. Their originary manifestation appears to have been the *jeux de plume* closely associated with scribal work. There is contractual evidence that these techniques came to be closely associated with books from Bologna, and that the presence of these decorative forms enhanced the status of the books. Bolognese style appears in deluxe liturgical books produced in Paris in the first decades of the thirteenth century. *Prolongations à l'italienne* feature prominently in both the Lewis Psalter and the Psalter of Jeanne de Navarre. The enthusiastic adoption of the Italian style in Paris marks a strong contrast to deluxe liturgical books produced in Oxford at the same time. Neither the Huntingfield Psalter (c. 1225) nor the Lothian Bible (c. 1220) display Italian-influenced flourished forms.

Flourishing is not part of the design of the Huntingfield Psalter and it is used in the Lothian Bible sparingly. Line fillers with geometric designs and dragon extensions to ornamental capitals dominate the *mise-en-page* of the Huntingfield Psalter. The decorative vocabulary for these two books, produced in the best-documented centre for the production of luxury books in thirteenth-century England, still retains the essential elements of Romanesque decorative style.

Incursions of Italian style are evident, however, in less expensive books produced in this period in Oxford. In a copy of the *Decretum* produced *c.* 1210-1220, a *prolongation à l'italienne* stretches across the *bas de page*, and the Italian perhaps specifically Bolognese trait of arranging the incipit for the section to the left of the historiated or decorated initial in alternating red and blue letters, often finished with a carpet-like fringe to the right, also appears here. It is likely both the scribe and the illuminator were working from a Bolognese exemplar. A Psalter with the Gloss of Alexander of Neckham also shows Italian influence with the appearance of a *prolongation à l'italienne* placed in the *bas de page*, as well as another moving up the right hand margin of the text.

The unusual number of survivals that are attributed to the circle of William de Brailes makes it possible to observe differentiations in the use of flourishing within the corpus. Three groups emerge from the surviving manuscripts associated with de Brailes. These are an Italianate group, comprising the most deluxe books in the corpus, a 'fleuronnée' group in which flourishing plays a background role, while small historiated initials dominate the decorative programme, and a filigree puzzle initial group, in which de Brailes' involvement as an illuminator is minimal and the great majority of the decorative embellishment to the books is supplied by elaborate filigree puzzle initials. In this last group, it appears that the filigree puzzle initials

were used in place of more expensive painted historiated initials. In all three of these groups, patron preference is apparent with regard to the implied use of the book. This is exemplified most clearly by the design of the Book of Hours, a new form of prayer book, designed for a secular female patron. The inclusion of summary text in an Anglo-Norman bookhand denotes the specific requirements of this patron, beyond the typical adjustments requiring the inclusion or exclusion of specific components in the main body of the text, or the personal requirements of the patron with regard to the organization of the calendar.

While the majority of the survivals from the de Brailes circle are Bibles, indicating the rising market for small-scale portable Bibles that is a central feature of the nascent secular book trade in the first half of the thirteenth century, it is the deluxe books, the Psalters and the Book of Hours, where de Brailes and his circle exercise their most innovative technique with regard to the decorative components of the books. It is in these luxury productions that the importance of decorative components becomes clear. In these examples, de Brailes and his circle chose to apply decorative technique usually found in lower status books, specifically those associated with the study of law, to texts of the highest status, those of the sacred Word. These are also very personal texts, designed for use in the context of private devotion. The inclusion of distinctive, and innovative, decorative motifs in these books indicates perhaps particular personal preference with regard to their design. The innovative element in the decorative design of these books is the use of Italian forms, the *jeux de plume* and the *prolongation à l'italienne*, forms that were initially associated with the decoration of legal texts in late twelfth-century Bologna. Here, at least half a century later, these forms are shifting from an academic to a sacred context via the work of a commercial book-producer. The placement of the Italian

forms in the de Brailes books indicates the interest of de Brailes and his circle in these motifs. The appearance of extensive *prolongations* in both Psalters, and the exact reproduction of a *jeux de plume* in the only folio painted by de Brailes himself in the Stockholm Psalter, indicates the enthusiasm of de Brailes and his patrons for the Italian style. The Book of Hours similarly features a *jeux de plume* structure in a prominent position at the beginning of the book, as well as many examples of the *prolongation à l'italienne*.

While affluent private patrons comprised an important component of the client-base of the de Brailes circle, another emerging group of patrons was the newly arrived mendicant orders in the second decade of the thirteenth century in Oxford. The deluxe group of books that feature Italianate influence were produced for wealthy private individuals, while the small-scale Bibles were commissioned either by Dominicans or Franciscans themselves, or for a private individual under the devotional guidance of a member of these orders. Flourishing plays a much less important role in the small-scale Bibles produced by the de Brailes circle. The emphasis in these books is on the narratives told by the historiated initials. Use of the *bas de page* is developed too in these small books, however with the use of the narrative drop technique whereby the narrative begun in the historiated initials is continued in the *bas de page* by a more expansively drawn figure, unenclosed by the frame of the historiated initial. The emphasis in these small-scale Bibles with regard to the decorative programmes is not in innovation, but rather usability. In these books, the function of the flourish was to assist the reader in negotiating the text. Flourishing helped to indicate the components of the text, chapter and verse, in tandem with the work of the historiated initial that helped the reader to either remember or anticipate the content of the text. While these functions, in terms of

textual negotiation and comprehension, are not completely removed from the use of the Italianate forms in the more deluxe books, the intended function of elaborate decorative structures does seem to indicate difference in motivation with regard to their placement in the text. The place of the reader in the deluxe books is clear by their ample use of space for lay-out. The Psalters and the Book of Hours, by virtue of the luxury of space and the use of large historiated initials, sometimes extending to half the size of the text block, make it easy for the reader to identify place and content. The placement of virtuoso flourishing in the *bas de page* of these books seems to have a more aesthetic purpose, perhaps an indication of a developing connoisseurship with regard to the commission of luxury books.

The use of the filigree puzzle initial appears in the books in the de Brailes corpus when de Brailes supplies minimum illuminated material. This suggests that the impressive-looking filigree puzzle initials were used as substitutes for more expensive illuminated content. It is possible that these filigree puzzle initials were used for purely aesthetic reasons, but the low level of involvement by de Brailes or a close associate with the illuminated content of these books, perhaps indicates that economy was a central concern for the patrons. The use of paint as opposed to pen for decoration of a text increases the cost of the production. There is also the possibility that the hand of a perceived master, in this case the hand of de Brailes or a close associate, would also increase the cost. De Brailes singular employment of his colophons, *w. de brailes me fecit* and *w. d'brailes qui me depeint*, suggest that he was aware of the value of the direct association of himself and his work. Two of the double Psalters out of the three examples from the de Brailes group fall into the filigree puzzle initial group. Both the Perth Bible and the Bodleian Laud lat. 13 demonstrate the impressive appearance of the use of the filigree puzzle initial when

used to embellish the Double Psalter, with the matching use of filigree puzzle initials down both sides of the bi-columnar text block. The more modest appearance of the filigree puzzle initials that are used for the Double Psalter in the Gray's Inn Bible are in keeping with the less emphatic presence of the flourishing in the 'fleuronnée' group in general. There is also the possibility that the patrons of the Perth and Bodleian Laud lat. 13 Bibles chose filigree puzzle initials for aesthetic reasons, particularly with relevance to the impressive appearance of the Double Psalter when presented by the filigree puzzle initial technique.

The appearance of both *jeux de plume* and *prolongations à l'italienne* in other important works which follow that of de Brailes signifies that his early adoption of Italian style for deluxe books was the beginning of an important trend in the development of thirteenth-century decorative design. Examples in the Oscott and Rutland Psalters demonstrate the close observation of Italian technique. The Rutland Psalter in particular shows the replication of Italian forms but also innovations in their placement. The Rutland Psalter artist places *jeux de plume* structures not only in the *bas de page*, but also in the right hand margin of the folio. While the form is dislocated from the *bas de page*, its structure remains consistent with an embroidered baseline, and symmetrical extensions in the form of heads of barley. Strong similarity and in some cases physical connection between the line fillers and the *jeux de plume* work, suggest that the same hand is responsible for both of these decorative elements on the folios where the work of the Italianate flourisher appears.

The delicate application of *prolongations à l'italienne* in the *bas de page* of the Oscott Psalter similarly demonstrates the influence of Italian style. The diagonal position of many of these *prolongations* shows the evolving adaptation of the style. In many cases, the grotesque that precedes the *prolongation* is dispensed with, and

the prolongation proceeds from the *fleuronnée* initial. This gives further evidence of the adaptation of the style. In the case of the Oscott Psalter, the artist responsible for the penflourishing appears to be distinct from the hand that is responsible for the historiated initials, the semi-bar borders with their perching birds and grotesques, and the line fillers. The delicacy of the penwork has a different quality than that of the other decorative components supplied in paint. This may indicate a move towards specialization in the context of penflourishing. The work of the artists in both the Rutland and Oscott Psalters also shows the influence of Parisian style, with the addition of both naturalistic representations of animals, particularly birds, that perch on the borders of the folio, as well as the presence of vignettes also located in the realm of the margin, of grotesques involved in a wide variety of interactions. These trends are especially prominent in the work of the William of Devon circle.

The work of the Sarum Master and the circle of William of Devon provide contemporary comparison with similarly prolific illuminators. While the work of the Sarum Master is more conservative, the work of the William of Devon painters shows a new Parisian emphasis on semi-bar borders and the placement of small grotesque figures upon the grounds suggested by the semi-bar borders. The work of the Sarum Master also differs from that of the Master of William of Devon group in that the Sarum Master does not seem concerned to present a 'house style'. The manuscripts in the Sarum Master group have diverse decorative vocabularies. It is the presence of the illuminating hand that is identified as that of the Sarum Master that is used by art historians to construct this group. The works of the William of Devon group are immediately recognizable by the components of the marginal decoration of the books. It may be possible to ascribe the distinctive quality of the William of Devon manuscripts to a foreign, particularly distinctively Parisian style,

in the context of contemporaneous manuscripts produced in Oxford. However, it is the presence of semi-bar borders and marginal grotesques and naturalistic birds and animals in the semi-bar borders seems to indicate a consistent house style developed by the artists working in this group. The carnivalesque interaction depicted by the grotesques and drolleries in the realm of the margin is consistent not only in the construction of the figures and creatures, but in the humorous narrative they imply. Italian style is still in evidence in the William of Devon group as well. In this group the *prolongations à l'italienne* appear in tandem with semi-bar borders composed in paint. In contrast to the penwork prolongations, the semi-bar borders appear more substantial, robust enough to sustain a world of profane and contentious creatures perched outside the realm of the sacred Word. In this way many of the manuscripts of the William of Devon group represent a shift in the progression of the *prolongation à l'italienne*. The development of *mise-en-page* in the William of Devon books demonstrates a decrease in the use of the penwork *prolongations* and line fillers, and the advancement of the semi-bar border in pigment. The earlier books in the corpus, Bodleian Library MS Auct. D. 1. 7 and BL, Royal MS 1 D. i, have semi-bar borders and prolongations applied in the two mediums. The use of both techniques demonstrates an aesthetic development in which these two contrasting styles are used to complement one another, but it also indicates the rise of the paint medium for the decorative work in the margin of the folio. In the next books in the William of Devon group, Corpus Christi MS 1 and Emmanuel College MS 116 (2.1.6), penwork has retreated further to the context of textual markers; the running titles, chapter numbers and champ initials for the incipits of verses have associated penwork, but the penwork *prolongations* have disappeared. The most developed example of the style of the William of Devon group, the Cuerden Psalter (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS

M 756), contains no penflourishing of any type. The semi-bar borders, champ initials, and line fillers are all applied in paint. This new style at first glance evokes the aesthetic of early thirteenth-century Oxford luxury books such as the Huntingfield Psalter, in which the decorative components of the book are added in paint only. The difference in the ultimate style of the William of Devon group is the population of the margin of the folio by the semi-bar border applied in paint. The William of Devon group can be viewed as a microcosm demonstrating the progression of the decoration of luxury books from the middle through to the end of the thirteenth century. It is however, the initial presence of the penflourished *prolongation à l'italienne* that sparks the progression from its beginnings in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The emphasis on the margin of the folio will continue to develop throughout the fourteenth century. The manuscripts associated with the Alphonso Psalter show the crystallization of this trend. These luxury books, two intended for royal patrons, and one commissioned by another, contain folios completely surrounded by elaborate frames that are populated by grotesques as well as delicate naturalistic representations of birds and animals. The realm of the border has become a site of crucial importance with regard to *mise-en-page*. The teeming population of the margin of the folio both enhances and dissents from the meaning of the text that it encloses.

In his introduction to the exhibition catalogue *Gothic, Art for England 1400-1547*, Richard Marks defined the late medieval period as an 'age of consumption' with regard to the commission and possession of works of art in diverse media.³⁶⁵ He remarks on the status of the owner implied by the appearance of

³⁶⁵. See Richard Marks, ed., *Gothic, Art for England 1400-1547* (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2003), pp. 12-24 (p. 12).

the object. With regard to the possession of books, he gives as an example the imagined routine of Agnes Browne of Stamford in the 1460s, who owned a Book of Hours most probably purchased for her by her wool merchant husband, John Browne, in Bruges during one of his many journeys there. The book, now in the Free Library of Philadelphia, has a fine binding in blind-stamped calf, and silver-gilt clasps that retain two miniatures under glimmering crystal.³⁶⁶ The reverse side of miniatures of the Virgin and Child and Saint Veronica carry the merchant's mark of John Browne. This book has a very grand outside appearance, and a much more humble interior that reveals that it was a mass produced book, simply personalised for Agnes by the addition of a prefatory miniature depicting both Agnes and John Browne in the presence of the Mass of Saint Gregory (f. 7v.) This folio also carries the Browne's merchant mark in amongst the twisting tendrils of the border of the folio. Marks' point is that the outward appearance of the book would have been important to Margaret Browne in the context of the town of Stamford, where she worshipped at All Saints church with regard to confirming her social status. It is certainly the case that the look of the book as a personal object belonging to a secular patron developed in the centuries preceding the mercantile consumerism that Marks describes. The enhancement of the folio by penwork designs is an indication of preference by the new class of book buyer in the thirteenth century.

Sydney Cockerell described the *bas de page* work in 'his' Psalter, which is the Stockholm Psalter, as 'fireworks'.³⁶⁷ Cockerell's comment seems to justly define

³⁶⁶ For Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, Widener MS 3 (the Browne Hours) see Richard Marks, ed., *Gothic, Art for England 1400-1547*, pp. 21-22 and no. 140, p. 278. See also *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, ed. by J.R. Tanis (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), no. 33 and Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours; English People and their Prayers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006) pp. 21-52, (p. 28-29).

³⁶⁷ Sydney Cockerell, *The Work of W. de Brailes, an English Illuminator of the Thirteenth* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1930), p. 13.

the arresting visual quality of the complex designs that appear to race across the *bas de page* of the Stockholm psalter announced at times by the presence of a peacock or a fox, an eagle or a snail. This fluid form, the *prolongation à l'italienne* along with its close relation the *jeux de plume*, moved across borders and through time with apparent ease. These forms are essential components of thirteenth-century book decoration. They define the look of the book throughout the thirteenth century. The Italian source for establishment of these forms in the margin of the late medieval folio may be accounted as another artistic movement that travelled to the north and prospered there.

Manuscripts Consulted

*Indicates manuscripts examined in person.

Baltimore

*Walters Museum and Art Gallery, MS W. 106

Berlin

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, cod. theol. lat. oct. 61

Boston

Boston Public Library, MS F. Med. q 202

Blackburn

*Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS 091.21001

Bloomington

Lilly Library Ricketts C: 1

Lilly Library Ricketts III. 25

Lilly Library Ricketts III. 53

Cambridge

*Corpus Christi College, MS 2, part 1

*Corpus Christi College, MS 3-4

*Corpus Christi College, MS 10

*Emmanuel College, MS II. I. 6

*Emmanuel College, MS 116 (2.1.6)

Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 330

*Gonville and Caius College, MS 350/567

Pembroke College, MS 65

Trinity College, MS R. 17. 1

Copenhagen

Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS GKS 1606 4°

Durham

*Cathedral Library MS A. II 10

Edinburgh

National Library of Scotland, MS 10000

Glasgow

University of Glasgow Special Collections, MS Hunter U.3.7

Hereford

Hereford Cathedral Library, MS O. 5. 7p

Leiden

Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS lat. 76A

Lincoln

Lincoln Cathedral, MS 147

London:

British Library, Add. MS 15749
 British Library, Add. MS 24686
 British Library, Add. MS 37517
 British Library, Add. MS 42130
 British Library, Add. MS 48985
 *British Library, Add. MS 49999
 British Library, Add. MS 50000
 British Library, Add. MS 62925
 *British Library, Arundel MS 60
 *British Library, Arundel MS 157
 *British Library, Egerton MS 1151
 British Library, Harley MS 423
 British Library, Harley MS 928
 British Library, Harley MS 1708
 British Library, Harley MS 3487
 *British Library, Harley MS 2813
 British Library, Harley MS 2905
 British Library, Royal MS 1 B xii
 *British Library, Royal MS 1 D i
 *British Library, Royal MS I D x
 British Library, Royal MS 1 E ii
 British Library, Royal MS 2 A xxii
 British Library, Royal MS 4 E ix
 British Library, Royal MS 14 C vii
 British Library, Royal MS 3 C v
 *British Library, Royal MSS 3 E i-v and viii
 British Library, Royal MS 4 E ix
 British Library, Royal MS 2 A xxii
 *Gray's Inn, MS 24
 *Lambeth Palace, MS 434
 Lambeth Palace, MS 209
 *Lincoln's Inn, MS Hale 123
 *The Royal College of Physicians, MS 409

Manchester

*John Rylands Library, MS Lat. 22
 *John Rylands Library, MS Lat. 24

Munich

*Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 835

New York

*Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Glazier 42
 *Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 43

- *Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 81
- *Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 103
- *Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 756
- *Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 791
- *Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 913

Oxford:

- *All Souls College, MS 2
- All Souls College, MS 6
- *Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.1.7
- Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 3.2
- Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 3.5
- *Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 284
- Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 764
- Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Bibl. Lat. 8
- Bodleian Library, MS Bywater adds. 2
- *Bodleian Library, MS Digby 226
- *Bodleian Library, MS Douce 50
- *Bodleian Library, MS Douce 218
- *Bodleian Library, MS Douce 284
- *Bodleian Library, MS Lat. bibl. e. 7
- Bodleian Library, MS Lat. th. b. 4
- *Bodleian Library, MS Laud lat. 13
- *Bodleian Library, MS Laud lat. 114
- *Bodleian Library, MS Rawl C. 939
- Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 184
- *Christchurch, MS 95
- *Christchurch, MS 105
- *Corpus Christi College, MS 1
- *Magdalen College, MS lat. 130
- *Magdalen College, MS lat. 131
- *Magdalen College, MS lat. 132
- *Merton College, MS 7
- *New College, MS 322

Paris

- Archives Nationales, MS K. 24
- *BNF, MS Lat. 6291 A
- *BNF, MS Lat. 6323
- *BNF, MS Lat. 6505
- BNF, MS Lat. 9970
- *BNF, MS Lat. 10431
- BNF, MS Lat. 11756
- BNF, MS Lat. 14243
- BNF, MS Lat. 14245
- BNF, MS Lat. 15613
- BNF, MS Lat. 16894
- *BNF, MS Lat. 16896
- *BNF, MS Lat. 14243

*BNF, MS Fr. 403
 *BNF, MS Fr. 19525
 BNF, MS Fr. 22969
 Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 0168
 Musée Marmottan, Wildenstein Collection

Perth, Scotland

*Perth Museum and Art Gallery, MS 462

Peterborough

*Cathedral Library, MS 10

Philadelphia

*Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 29
 *Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185

Prague

The Library of the Metropolitan Chapter, Cod. P. 3
 The Library of the Metropolitan Chapter, Cod. A. LXI

Princeton

Princeton University, Manuscripts Division, MS Garrett 28

Ripon

Ripon Cathedral Library, MS II 1.6

Rouen

Rouen Cathedral, MS Y-50

San Marino

Huntington Library, MS HM 26061

Santa Barbara

University of California Library, MS Sarnen 16

Stockholm

*Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010

Troyes

Bibliothèque municipale, MS 72

Winchester

Winchester Cathedral, MS 17

Vatican City

*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 11598
 *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Borghesiana 58
 *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. Lat. 206

Bibliography

- Alexander, Jonathan J. G., *The Decorated Letter* (New York: Braziller, 1978)
- _____ and È. Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries, the University Archives and the Taylor Institution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985)
- _____ and Paul Binski, *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987)
- _____ *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992)
- _____ James H. Marrow and Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (London: Harvey Miller, 2005)
- Astuti, G., 'La "Glossa" accursiana', in *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi accursiani: Bologna, 21-26 ottobre 1963*, ed. by Guido Rossi (Milan: Giuffrè, 1968) pp. 288-379
- Augustine, *De catechizandi rudibus III.5* (2).3-15, *Corpus christianorum*, series latina <<http://www.corpuschristianorum.org/series/ccsl.html>>.
- Augustyn, Wolfgang, Christine Jacobi-Mirwald, Christine Sauer and Martin Roland, 'Fleuroneé', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 9 (Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 2003), cols. 1113-96
- Avril, F. and Stirneman, P., *Manuscripts Enluminés de la Bibliothèque nationale, Manuscripts D'Origine Insulaire, VII^e-XX^e siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1987)
- _____ *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine italienne, I, VI^e-XII^e siècle*, ed. by F. Avril and Y. Zaluska (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1980)
- _____ *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine italienne, II, XIII^e siècle*, ed. by F. Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1984)
- _____ 'Un Enlumineur ornemaniste parisien de la première moitié du XIV siècle: Jacobus Mathey (Jacquet Maci?)', *Bulletin Monumental*, 129 (1971), 249-64
- _____ 'Trois manuscrits de l'entourage de Jean Pucelle', *Revue de l'art*, 7 (1970), 37-48
- Backhouse, Janet, *The Illuminated Page: Ten Centuries of Manuscript Painting in the British Library* (London: The British Library, 1997)
- Barber, Malcolm, *The Two Cities: Medieval Europe 1050-1320*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Routledge, 2004)
- Barker-Benfield, B. C., ed., *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, 13 (London: British Library, 2008)
- Baxter, Ronald, 'A Baronial Bestiary: Heraldic Evidence for the Patronage of MS Bodley 764', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987), 196-200
- Binski, Paul and Stella Panayotova, eds, *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West* (London: Harvey Miller, 2005)
- _____ *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170-1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004)

- Beer, Ellen, *Beiträge zur oberrheinischen Buchmalerei in den ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Initialornamentik* (Basil: Birkhäuser, 1959)
- Bennett, Adelaide L., 'A Late Thirteenth-century Psalter-Hours from London', in *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), pp. 15-30
- _____, 'The Place of Garrett 28 in Thirteenth-Century English Illumination' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1973)
- _____, 'Additions to the William of Devon Group', *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), 31-40
- Benson, Larry D., ed. *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988)
- Binski, Paul, 'London, Paris, Assisi, Rome around 1300: Questioning Art Hierarchies' in *From Minor to Major: The Minor Medieval Arts in Art History*, ed. by Colum Hourihane (Pennsylvania: Index of Christian Art Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University and Penn State University Press, 2012), pp. 3-21
- Binski, Paul and Stella Panayotova, eds, *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West* (London: Harvey Miller, 2005)
- Boase, T. S., *English Art 1110-1216* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1953)
- Bovey, Alixe, *Monsters and Grotesques in Medieval Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 2002)
- _____, 'Didactic Distractions Framing the Law: British Library Royal MS 10 E IV', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2000)
- Branner, Robert, *Manuscript painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977)
- _____, 'The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origins of the William of Devon Painter', *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), 24-30
- Brieger, Peter, *English Art: 1216-1307, Oxford History of English Art*, 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957)
- Brooke, Rosalind B. and Christopher Brooke, *Popular Religion in the Middle Ages: Western Europe: 1000-1300* (New York: Barnes and Noble, repr. 1996)
- Brown, Michelle P., ed., *The Luttrell Psalter, a Facsimile* (London: The British Library, 2006)
- _____, 'Marvels of the West: Giraldus Cambrensis and the Role of the Author in the Development of Marginal Illustration', in *Decoration and Illustration in Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards, *English Manuscripts Studies 1100-1700*, 10 (London, British Library, 2002), pp. 34-59
- _____, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1994)
- Bryan, Elizabeth J., 'Lazamon's *Brut* and the Vernacular Text: Widening the Context' in *Reading Lazamon's 'Brut': Approaches and Explorations*, ed. by Rosamund Allen, Jane Roberts and Carole Weinberg, *DQR Studies in Literature*, 52 (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2013), pp. 661-89
- Bynum, Caroline Walker, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), pp. 37-75
- Cahn, Walter, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century* (London: Harvey Miller, 1996)

- _____*La Bible romane: chefs-d'oeuvre d l'enluminure* (Freiburg and Paris: Office du Livre, 1982)
- _____*Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982)
- _____'St Albans and the Channel Style in England' in *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), pp. 187-230
- Camille, Michael, *Image on the Edge*, 5th edn (London: Reaktion, 2006)
- _____*Mirrouir in Parchment; The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London: Reaktion, 1998)
- _____*Gothic Art* (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1996)
- _____'An Oxford University Textbook illuminated by William de Brailes', *The Burlington Magazine*, 37 (1995), 292-99
- _____'At the Edge of the Law', in *England in the Fourteenth Century, Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Nicholas Rogers (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1993), pp. 1-14
- _____'Illustrations in Harley MS 3487 and the Perception of Aristotle's *Libri Naturales* in 13th Century England' in *England in the 13th Century, Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W. M. Ormod (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1986)
- _____'The Book of Signs: Writing and Visual Difference in Gothic Manuscript Illumination' *Word & Image*, 1.2 (1985), pp. 133-48
- Cambrensis, Giraldus, *Topographica Hibernia*, ed. by John J. O'Meara, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 52, C (1949), pp. 113-78
- _____*Topographica Hibernia in Giraldus Cambrensis Opere*, ed. by John Sherren Brewer, James Francis Dimock, George Frederic Warner, Rolls Series, 5, no. 21 (London: Longmans, 1867)
- Canivez, Jean Marie, ed., *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, 8 vols (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933-41), I, (1933)
- Carley, J. P., *The Books of King Henry VIII and His Wives* (London: British Library, 2004)
- _____, ed., *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 7 (London: The British Library, 2000)
- Carpenter, David, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066-1284* (London: Penguin, 2003)
- Carruthers, Mary, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- _____*The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Chartularium Studii Bononiensis. Documenti per la storia dell'Univerisità di Bologna dalle origini sino al XV, V, VII, VIII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XIV, XV* (Bologna: Presso la Commissione per la storia dell'Università di Bologna, 1909-1988)
- Christianson, C. P., *Memorials of the Book Trade in Medieval London: The Archives of Old London Bridge* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987)
- Clanchy, Michael, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993)
- Clegg, Justin, *The Medieval Church in Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 2003)
- Cockerell, Sydney Carlyle, *The Work of W. de Brailes, an English Illuminator of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1930)

- _____. *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1908)
- _____. *The Gorleston Psalter* (London: Chiswick Press, 1907)
- Cogliati, Arano, L., *Miniature lombarde, codici miniati dall'VIII al XIV secolo* (Milano: Casa di Risparmio, 1970)
- Conti, Alessandro, *La Miniatura Bolognese; Scuolo e botteghe 1270-1340* (Bologna: Edizioni ALFA, 1981)
- _____. 'Problemi di miniatura bolognese', in *Bolletino d'Arte*, 2 (1979), pp. 1-28
- de Hamel, Christopher, *Gilding the Lily: A Hundred Medieval and Illuminated Manuscripts in the Lily Library* (Indiana: The Lily Library, 2010)
- _____. and Richard Barber eds, *Liber Bestiarum: MS Bodley 764*, 2 vols (London: Folio Society, 2008)
- _____. *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd edn (London: Phaidon, 1994 repr. 2005)
- _____. *Sydney Carlyle Cockerell: The Nikirk Lectures*, 1 (New York: The Grolier Club, 2001)
- _____. *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon, 2001)
- _____. *Medieval Craftsmen: Scribes and Illuminators* (London: British Museum, 1992)
- _____. *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Book Trade* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1984)
- De Ricci, Seymour and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 2 (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1935-40)
- Delaissé, L. M. J., 'Towards a History of the Medieval Book', *Miscellanea André Combes*, ed. by Antonio Piolanti (Rome: Pontificia Università Lateranense, 1967-68), pp. 27-39
- Delisle, L.V., 'Notice sur un Psautier du XIII siècle appartenant au Comte de Crawford', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 58 (1897), 381-93
- Denis, Ferdinand J., *Histoire de l'ornementation des manuscrits* (Paris: L. Cumer, 1857)
- Dennison, Lynda, 'An Illuminator of the Queen Mary Psalter Group: The Ancient 6 Master', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 6.2 (1986), 287-314
- Derolez, A., *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: University Press Cambridge, 2003)
- Derrida, Jacques, *La Vérité en peinture* (Paris: Éditions Flammarion, 1978)
- Destrez, Jean, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Editions Jacques Vautrains, 1935)
- Deuchler, Florens, *Der Ingeborgpsalter* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967)
- Donovan, Claire, *The de Brailles Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (London: British Library, 1991)
- Doyle, A. I. 'Book Production by the Monastic Orders in England (c. 1375-1530): Assessing the Evidence', in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Oxford, July 1988*, ed. by Linda L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills: Anderson-Lovelace, 1990), pp. 1-19
- _____. 'The English Provincial Book Trade Before Printing', *Six Centuries of the English Book Trade in Britain*, ed. by P. Isaac (Winchester: Oak Knoll, 1990),

- pp. 13-29
- Dvořák, Max, *Die Illuminatoren des Johann von Neumarkt* (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1901)
- Duffy, Eamon, *Marking the Hours: English People at Their Prayers* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006)
- Eastaugh, Nicholas, Valentine Walsh, Tracey Chaplin and Ruth Siddall, *Pigment Compendium; A Dictionary and Microscopy of Medieval Pigments* (Burlington, Mass: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2008)
- Eco, Umberto, *The Aesthetics of Thomas Aquinas*, trans. by Hugh Bredin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988)
- Egbert, Virginia Wylie, *The Medieval Artist at Work* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1967)
- Evans, Joan, 'La Flore gothique, ses origines son évolution du XIIe au XVe siècle', *Bulletin Monumental*, 91 (1932), 181-246
- _____, *Pattern: A Study of Ornament in Western Europe from 1180-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931)
- Farber, Allen S., 'Considering a Marginal Master: The Work of an Early Fifteenth-Century, Parisian Manuscript Decorator', *Gesta*, 32.1 (1993), 21-39
- Filippini, F. and G. Zucchini, *Miniatori e pittori a Bologna: Documenti dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Florence: Sansoni, 1944)
- Fleet, Alison, 'The Significance of Text Scrolls' in *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, ed. by Margaret Mannion and Bernard Muir (London: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991)
- Friedman, John B., *Northern Books, Owners, and their Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995)
- _____, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981)
- Frońska, Joanna, 'Fonctions et Usages des Images dans les manuscrits juridiques; Le Digestum Vetus de Justinien de la Bibliothèque de Kórník, BK 824' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Uniwersytet Warszawski and Université de Poitiers, 2 vols, 2007)
- Gibbs, Robert, 'The 13th-century development of illumination in Bolognese copies of the Decretals of Gregory IX' in *Dalla pecia all'e-book: libri per l'università stampa, editoria, circolazione e lettura atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Bologna, 21-25 ottobre 2008*, ed. by G. P. Brizzi and M. G. Tavoni (Bologna: CLUEB, 2009), pp. 49-65
- _____, 'The Development of the Illustration of Legal manuscripts by Bolognese Illuminators between 1250 and 1298' in *Juristische Buchproduktion im Mittelalter*, ed. by V. Colli (Frankfurt: V. Klostermann, 2002), pp. 173- 218
- Gibson, Margaret, ed. *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image and Monastic Culture in twelfth-Century Canterbury* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1992)
- Graham, Henry B., 'The Munich Psalter', in *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), pp. 301-12
- Graf-Katzele, Antonia, 'Die Fleuronée- Initiale in den Handschriften der Studienbibliothek in Linz', *Kunstjahrbuch der Stadt Linz* (1964), pp. 5-31
- Gullick, Michael, *Pen in Hand: Medieval Scribal Portraits, Colophons and Tools* (Stevenage: Red Gull Press, 2006)
- _____, *Calligraphy* (London: Studio Editions, 1990)

- Hahn, Cynthia, 'The Spectacle of the Charismatic Body, Patrons, Artists and Body-Part Reliquaries', in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Martina Bagnoli and others (London: British Museum, 2011), pp. 163-72
- Hamburger, Jeffrey, review of *Image on the Edge* by Michael Camille in *Art Bulletin* 75 (June, 1993), 319-27
- Harrsen, M. P. and G. K. Boyce, *Italian manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York: Literary Licensing, 2013)
- Haussherr, Reiner, 'Psalter der Jeanne de Navarre' in *Festschrift Matthias Zender. Studien zu Volkskultur, Sprache und Landesgeschichte*, ed. by Edith Ennen and Günter Wiegmann (Bonn: Ludwig-Röhrscheid-Verlag, 1972), pp. 573-97
- Heslop, T. A., 'Late Twelfth-century Writing about Art, and Aesthetic Relativity', in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives. A Memorial Tribute to C. R. Dodwell*, ed. by Gale Owen-Crocker and T. Graham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 129-41
- Higgitt, John, *The Murthly Hours: Devotion, Literacy and Luxury in Paris, England and the Gaelic West* (London: British Library, 2000)
- Hoffman, Konrad, ed. *The Year 1200: A Centennial Exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970)
- Holmes, Urban Tigner, ed., *Daily Living in the 12th Century: Based on the Observations of Alexander Neckham in London and Paris* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952)
- Hourihane, Colum, ed., *Gothic Art and Thought in the Later Medieval Period* (Princeton: Index of Christian Art and Penn. State Press, 2011)
- Hugh of Saint Victor, 'De modo dicendi et meditandi', *Patrologica Latina*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne (Paris: Garnier, 1865), 176.878.
- Hülsmann, Margriet, 'Penwerk in Opbouw: Codering Als Beschrijvingsmethode Voor De Structuur Van Marginaal Penwerk', in *Middeleeuwse Handschriftenkunde in de Nederlanden 1988: Verslag van de Groningse Codicologendagen, 28-29 april 1988*, ed. by J. M. M. Hermans (Groningse: Alfa, 1989), pp. 45-58
- _____, 'Penwerk: een eigen vorm boekdecoratie in vijftiende-eeuwse Noornederlandse handschriften'. *Middeleeuwse handschriftenkunde in de Nederlanden, 1988, Verlag Van Groningse Codicologendagen 28-29 April 1988*, ed. J.M.M. Hermans (Groningse: Alfa, 1989) pp.13-28
- Hunt, R. W., 'The Library of Robert Grosseteste' in *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop: Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of his Death*, ed. by D. A. Callas (Oxford, Clarendon, 1955), pp. 121-45
- _____, 'Manuscripts Containing the Indexing Symbols of Robert Grosseteste', *Bodleian Library Record*, 4 (1952-53), pp. 241-55
- _____, Hutchinson, G. Evelyn, 'Attitudes toward Nature in Medieval England: The Alphonso and Bird Psalters', *Isis*, 65.1 (1974), 5-37
- James, M. R., 'Pictor in Carmine', *Archaeologica*, 94 (1951), 141-66
- _____, *A Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester: John Rylands Library, 1921)
- _____, *The Treatise of Walter de Milemete* (Oxford: Oxford University Press and the Roxburghe Club, 1913)
- _____, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Pembroke College, Cambridge*

- (Cambridge: University Press, 1905)
 ——— *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904)
- Janson, H. W., *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1952; repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1976)
- Kauffmann, C. M., *Romanesque manuscripts 1066-1190, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 3 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1975)
- Kauffmann, Martin, 'Illustration and Ornament', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999-2011), II (2008), pp. 474-87.
- Kayser, Wolfgang, *The Grottesque in Art and Literature*, trans by U. Weissten (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1963)
- Kendrick, Laura, 'Les "Bords" des Contes de Cantorbéry et des manuscrits enluminés de l'époque gothique', *Bulletin des Anglicistes Medievistes*, 46 (1994), 926-943
- Ker, Neil R., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-2002)
- Kidd, Peter, 'A Franciscan Bible Illuminated in the Style of William de Brailes', *eBritish Library Journal*, 2007, Article 8, 1-20 (<<http://www.bl.uk/ebli/2007articles/article8.html>>)
- Kurth, Betty, 'Fragmente aus einem gotischen Schriftmusterbuch in der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg', in *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der K.K. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege*, 9 (1915), 174-82
- Květ, J., 'Kreslený filigrán v rukopisech XII-XIV století', *Památky archéologické*, 34 (1924-25), 92-113
- L'Engle, Susan, 'The Pro-Active Reader: Learning to Learn the Law' in *Medieval Manuscripts, their Makers and Users; A Special Issue of Viator in Honor of Richard and Mary Rouse*, ed. by Christopher Baswell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 51-76
- Lamprecht, Karel, *Die Initiale- Ornamentik des VIII. bis XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Alphonse Dürr, 1882)
- Lecoy de la Marche, Albert, *Les manuscrits et la miniature* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1884)
- Lewis, Suzanne, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
 ——— *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1987)
- Light, Laura, 'The Bible and the Individual: The Thirteenth-Century Paris Bible', in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. by Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011)
- Loewe, Raphael, 'The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate' in *The History of the Bible, the West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. by G.W. H. Lampe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969, rpt.1994)
- Lowden, John, *The Making of the Bibles Moralises*, 2 vols (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000)
- Lubin, Eileen, *The Illustration of the Pauline Epistle in the French and English Bibles of the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982)

- Marks, Richard and Paul Williamson, eds, *Gothic; Art for England 1400-1547* (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2003)
- _____ and Nigel Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting 1200-1500* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981)
- Martin, Henry, *La Miniature Française du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris: Van Oest, 1923)
- _____ *Les miniaturistes française* (Paris: H. Leclerc, 1906)
- Martindale, Andrew, *Gothic Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1967)
- McKendrick, Scot, ed., and others, *The Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination* (London: British Library, 2011)
- _____ and Kathleen Doyle, *Bible Manuscripts: 1400 Years of Scribes and Scripture* (London: British Library, 2007)
- Medica, Massimo and S. Tumedei, *Duecento: Forme e colori del Medioevo a Bologna* (Venice: Masilio, 2000)
- Meiss, Millard, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late XIV Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols, National Gallery of Art Kress Foundation Studies in the History of European Art, II (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967)
- Melnikas, Anthony, *The Corpus of Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani, (Studia Gratianan XVI-XIII)*, 3 vols (Rome: Studia Gratiana, 1975)
- Michael, Michael A., 'Urban Production of Manuscript Books and the Role of University Towns', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999-2011), II (2008), pp. 168-96
- _____ 'English Illuminators c. 1190-1450: A Survey from Documentary Sources', *English Manuscript Studies*, 4 (1993), 62-113
- Millar, Eric G., ed. *The Rutland Psalter* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1937)
- _____ *English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Century* (Paris: Van Oest, 1928)
- Morgan, Nigel J., *Leaves from a Psalter by William de Brailes: Commentary* (London: Folio Society, 2012)
- _____ *The Munich Golden Psalter, Clm 835, Bavarian State Library Munich* (Luzern: Quaternio Verlag, 2011)
- _____ and R. Thomson, eds, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 2: 1100-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- _____ 'Patrons and their Devotions in the Historiated Initials and Full-Page Miniatures of 13th-Century English Psalters', in *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images*, ed. by F. O. Büttner (Belgium: Brepols, 2004), pp. 309-22
- _____ 'The Decorative Ornament of the Text and Page in Thirteenth-century England: Initials, Border Extensions and Line Fillers', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 10 (2002), 1-33
- _____ *Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250-1285, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, IV (London: Harvey Miller, 1988)
- _____ 'The Artists of the Rutland Psalter', *British Library Journal*, 13.2 (1987), 159-86
- _____ *Early Gothic Manuscripts I, 1190-1250, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, IV (London: Harvey Miller, 1982)

- _____ and Richard Marks, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting 1200-1500* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981)
- Noel, William, 'Some Transatlantic Trails of W. de Brailes' in *The Medieval Book: Glosses from Friends and Colleagues of Christopher de Hamel*, ed. by J. H. Marrow., R. A. Linenthal and W. Noel (Houten: HES and de Graaf, 2010), pp. 442-44
- _____ *The Oxford Bible Pictures: MS W.106, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, and the Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris* (Luzern, Faksimile Verlag Luzern, 2004)
- _____ 'Gallican Psalter with Canticles, Litany and Two Prayers' in *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, ed. by J. R. Tanis (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), pp. 51-53
- Nordenfalk, Carl, review of *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani* by Anthony Melnikas in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), 318-337
- _____ 'Drolleries', *Burlington Magazine*, 109 (1967), 418-21
- Norton, Christopher, David Park, and Paul Binski, *Dominican Painting in East Anglia: The Thornham Parva Retable and the Musée de Cluny Frontal* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987)
- Oliver, Judith H, *Gothic Manuscript Illumination in the Diocese of Liege, c. 1250-1330*, (Leuven, Belgium: Uitgeverij, 1988)
- Orlandelli, Gianfranco, 'Il contratto di scrittura nella dottrina notarile bolognese,' in *Scritti di Paleografia e Diplomatica*, ed. by R. Ferrara and G. Feo (Bologna: Istituto per la storia dell'università di Bologna, 1994)
- _____ *Il libro a Bologna dal 1300 al 1330: documenti con uno studio su il contratto di scrittura nella dottrina notarile Bolognese* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1959)
- Ormrod, W. M. ed., *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), pp. 15-30 *Oxford English Dictionary*, < [http: www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com)>
- Pächt, Otto, *Buchmalerei des Mittelalters* (Munich: Prestel, 1984)
- _____ and Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: Italian School*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970)
- _____ and Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: British, Irish and Icelandic Schools*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973)
- _____ 'A Giottesque Episode in English Illumination', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 6 (1943), 51-70
- Palmer, Richard and Michelle Brown eds., *Lambeth Palace Library: Treasures from the Collection of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, (London: Scala, 2010)
- Panayotova, Stella, and Paul Binski eds, *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West* (London: Harvey Miller, 2005)
- Parkes, M. B., 'The Provision of Books' in *The History of the University of Oxford, 2, Late Medieval Oxford*, ed. by J. I. Catto and T. A. E. Evans (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)
- _____ *Scribes, Scripts and Readers* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991)
- _____ 'Books and Aids to Scholarship of the Oxford Friars', in *Manuscripts at Oxford: An Exhibition in Memory of Richard William Hunt (1908-1979), Keeper of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1945-1975*,

- on *Themes Selected and Described by Some of his Friends*, ed. by A. C. de la Mare and B. C. Barker-Benfield (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1980), pp. 57–59
- 'The Influence of the Concept of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. by Jonathan J. G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), pp. 115–41
- Patterson, Sonia, 'Comparison of Minor Initial Decoration: A Possible Method of Showing the Place of Origin of Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts', in *The Library*, 5. 27 (1972), 23–30
- Petersen, Elizabeth, 'The Textual Basis for Visual Errors in French Gothic Psalter Illumination' in *The Early Medieval Book And its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- Pizan, Christine, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. by Earl Jeffrey Richards (New York: Persea Books, 1982)
- *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*, trans. by Eric Hicks and Thérèse Moreau (Paris: Editions Stock, 1986)
- Pollard, Henry Graham, *Notes for a Directory of Cat Street* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984)
- 'William de Brailes', *Bodleian Library Record*, 5.4 (1955), 202–29
- 'The University and the Book Trade in Medieval Oxford', *Beiträge zur Berufs Bewusstsein des Mittelalterlichen Menschen*, ed. by P. Wilpert, *Miscellanea mediaevalia*, 3 (Berlin, 1964), 336–44
- Rabaté, Michel, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Lacan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Rashdall, Hastings, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1895, rept. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Randall, Lilian, M. C. 'En Route to Salvation with William de Brailes', *Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature and Translation: Studies for Keith Val Sinclair*, ed. by P. R. Monks and D. D. R. Owen (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 83–94
- *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966)
- 'The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare', *Speculum*, 37.3 (1962), 358–67
- 'Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination', *Art Bulletin*, 39.2 (June, 1957), 97–107
- Reuterswärd, P., 'En handskrift av William de Brailes och hans verkstad i Oxford', *Kontakt med Nationalmuseum* (1971), 7–15
- Rice, D. Talbot, *English Art 870–1100* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952)
- Rickert, Margaret, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (London: Penguin, 1965)
- Riegl, Alois, *Problems of style: Foundations for a History of Ornament*, trans. by Evelyn Kain (Princeton, Princeton University, 1992)
- *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (Berlin: George Siemens, 1893)
- Ringbom, S., 'Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions: Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Piety'. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th Series, 73 (1969), 159–170
- Robinson, James, 'From Altar to Amulet: Relics, Portability and Devotion' in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, eds

- Martina Bagnoli, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann and James Robinson (London: British Museum Press, 2011), pp. 111-16
- Rosemann, Phillip W., ed., *Opera Roberti Grossteteste Lincolniensis, i, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout: Brepols 1995)
- Ross, Janet L., 'A Note on the Use of Mosaic Gold', *Studies in Conservation*, 18 (1973), 174-76
- 'Technology of Production of the Manuscript Book', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), II: 1100-1400, ed. by Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson, pp. 75-109
- Rouse, Richard H. and Mary A., *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Production Medieval Paris 1200-1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000)
- 'St Antonius of Florence on Manuscript Production', in *Litterae Medii Aevi: Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by M. Borgolte and H. Spilling (Sigmaringen: Thorbeck, 1988)
- Sandler, Lucy Freeman, 'The Images of Words in English Gothic Psalters', in *Studies in the Illustration of the Psalter*, ed. by Brendan Cassidy and Rosemary Muir Wright (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), pp. 67-86
- *Gothic manuscripts 1285-1385, Survey of the Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, V (London: Harvey Miller, 1986)
- 'An Early Fourteenth Century English Psalter in the Escorial', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 42 (1979), 65-80
- *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and Other Fenland Manuscripts* (London: Harvey Miller, 1974)
- 'A Series of Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter', *Marsyas: Studies in the History of Art*, 8 (1959), 70-74
- Salter, H. E. and W. A. Pantin, *Survey of Oxford*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society Oxford, 1930-69)
- *The Feet of Fines for Oxfordshire 1195-1216* (Oxford: Oxfordshire Record Society, Oxford, 1930) no.12
- *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, Oxford, 1929-36), I, II and III, (1929 and 1931), nos. 89, 90 and 91
- *Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1920), I, (1920), no.70.
- *A Cartulary of the Hospital of St John the Baptist*, 3 vols (Oxford Historical Society, Oxford, 1914-17), I, (1914), no. 66.
- Scott, Kathleen, *Dated and Datable English Manuscript Borders c. 1395-1499* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 2002)
- *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 6, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), II
- Scott, Margaret, *Medieval Dress & Fashion* (London: British Library, 2007)
- Scott-Fleming, Sonia, *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1989)
- Schmidt, Gerhard, *Die Malerschule von St. Florian: Beiträge zur süddeutschen Malerei zu Ende des 13. Und im 14. Jahrhundert* (Graz: H. Bönlaus Nachf., 1962)
- Smalley, Beryl, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984)

- Soetermeer, Frank P. W., 'À propos d'une famille de copistes: quelques remarques sur la librairie à Bologna aux XIII (e) et XIV (e) siècles', *Studi medievali*, 3, 30 (1989), 425-78
- Stirnemann, Patricia D., 'Dating, Placing and Illumination', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 11 (2008), 155-166
- , 'Paris, BN, MS lat. 8846 and the Eadwine Psalter' in *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image and Monastic Culture in twelfth-Century Canterbury*, ed. by Margaret T. Gibson (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1992), pp. 186-192
- , 'Fils de la vierge: l'initiale à filigranes parisienne 1140-1314', *Revue de l'art* (1990), 58-73
- Stones, Alison, 'Sacred and Profane Art: Secular and Liturgical Book Illumination in the Thirteenth Century', *The Epic in Medieval Society: Aesthetic and Moral Values*, ed. by H. Scholler (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer 1977), pp. 100-13
- Tanis, J. R. ed. *Leaves of Gold; Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001)
- Temple, È., 'Further Additions to the William of Devon Group', *Bodleian Library Record*, 2 (1984), 344-48
- Thomson, Harrison, 'Grosseteste's Topical Concordance of the Bible and the Fathers', *Speculum*, 9 (1934), 139-44
- Thomson, Rodney M., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2011)
- , *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Merton College, Oxford* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2009)
- , *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989)
- , *Manuscripts from St Albans Abbey 1066-1235* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1982)
- , Thompson, Daniel V., *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (London: Dover, 1936)
- Thompson, E. Maunde, 'The Gorleston Psalter', *Burlington Magazine*, 13 (1908), 146-51
- , 'Notes on the Illuminated Manuscripts in the Exhibition of English Medieval Paintings', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd Series, 16 (1895-1897)
- , *The Grotesque and the Humorous in the Illuminations of the Middle Ages* (London: Bibliographica, 1896)
- Toman, Rolf, ed., *Romanesque: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting* (Königswinter: Könemann, 2004)
- Vadillo, Mónica A., 'Apes in Medieval Art', *Medieval Animal Data Network*, October, 28th, 2013. <<http://mad.hypotheses.org/172>>.
- Valentine, Lucia N., *Ornament in Medieval Manuscripts* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965)
- Verdier, Philippe, Peter Brieger, Marie Farquhar, *Art and the Courts: France and England from 1259 to 1328*, *The National Gallery of Canada*, 27 April-2 July 1972 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1972)
- Von Simson, Otto, *The Gothic Cathedral*, 2nd edn., rev. 1962, reprt. (New York: Pantheon, 1965)

- Walker, Rose, 'Leonor of England and Eleanor of Castile', in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th-15th Century*, ed. by María Bullón-Frenández (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007)
- Walworth, Julia, 'The Illustrations to the Munich *Parzival* (Cgm 19)' in *Parzival, with Titirel and the love-lyrics by Wolfram von Eschenbach*, trans. by Cyril Edwards (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), pp. 307-15
- Warner, George F., *A Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins* (London: Oxford University Press, 1920)
- Watson, Bruce, 'The Calligrapher as Artist', *Scriptorium*, 28 (1974), 281-85
- Wentersdorf, Karl P. 'The Symbolic Significance of the "Figure Scatologicae" in Gothic Manuscripts', in *Word, Picture and Spectacle*, ed. by C. Davidson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1984), pp.1-20
- Wigram, S. R., *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St Frideswide at Oxford*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1895) I, 28
- Wolf, Edwin, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the European Manuscripts in the John Frederick Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: The Library Free Library of Philadelphia, 1937)
- Woolgar, C. M., *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006)
- Yapp, Brunson, *Birds in Medieval Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 1981)